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A
Present for a PAPIST;

OR, THE

HISTORY

OF THE

L I F E

OF

POPE J O A N, *Pope*

From her Birth to her Death. *K*

Plainly proving out of printed Copies and authentic Manuscripts of Popish Writers and others, that a Woman called *Joan* was really Pope of *Rome*, and was there delivered of a Bastard Son in the open Street as she was going in solemn Procession.

W I T H

Many curious Memoirs relating to those Holy Fathers the Jesuits, &c. *Cum Multis aliis.*

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T H E

P R E F A C E.

THE Author of the following Treatise was a great Lover of Truth, and one who had been highly preferred in the Church of *Rome*, could he have dispensed with her *Son's profitable Sin of Lying and Equivocation*. In his time he was looked upon as a Man of a very acute Wit, a great *Virtuoso*, yet of a meek and modest Temper, one who valued Truth so much, and the World so little, that all that knew him, could do no less than approve and applaud his Writings before they read them; and truly, as to proving that there was a Woman called *Joan*, who was Pope of *Rome*, he has so great a Cloud of Witnesses to prove the Truth of it, and not a Protestant among them, but all eminent Pontifical Writers, (*Propugnacula Romanæ Ecclesiæ*) whose Works he laboriously read over, and hath quoted them faithfully, in which Quotations you will find some great Men of the Romish Church have acknowledged, that there was a Woman Pope, and several to this Day, to their own Shame and Confusion, must confess the Truth of the Story.

You

The P R E F A C E.

You must not expect the Tithe of this *Lady Errant's Story* in this small Volume ; 'tis very probable that a Woman of such eminent Learning and excellent Parts, as she was endued with, must have performed many memorable Actions in the World, besides what are contain'd in her lascivious Ramble with her Gallant to the City of *Athens*,* and from thence to *Rome*, in which Place she behaved her self in all respects in masculine Apparel, like a learned and Holy Man, till *Female frailty disgraced her Papal Dignity with a Bastard*, of which she was shamefully delivered in the open Street, as she was going in Procession, and both died instantly.

* Now called *Setines*, subject to the Venetians.



T H E

(1)

THE
LIFE and DEATH
OF
POPE JOAN, &c.

JOHAN ENGLISH, or Pope Joan, as you may read in *Platina's* Lives of the Popes, was born of *English* Parents at a Place called *Mentz*, in *Germany*, who concealing her Sex in a masculine Habit, being a young Woman, travelled with a Man of singular Learning to *Athens*, whom she infinitely loved for the excellency of his Parts, having sufficient Ingenuity to qualify her for a Judge in that Particular. Such was her Desire of Knowledge, that for some Time she wholly banished her Thoughts from every thing that had the least Appearance of what was sensual, and applying herself solely to her Study, in a little Time she so improved herself in all Arts and Sciences, by conversing with the Learned of those Times, and with the Assistance of her no less learned Companion, that in Philosophy she had few equals; and a while after coming to *Rome*, in Theology she had as few Superiors. By her indefatigable Reading and acute disputing, she soon obtained so much good Will and Credit amongst all Sorts of Persons, that she was not only cried up for a great Wit, but a Man of unimitable Holiness and Piety, and this Vogue ran so uncontrollably general among the wiser Sort, that *Leo* the IVth
B dying,

2 *The LIFE and DEATH*

dying, by the Consent of all, as *Martinus* saith, she was chosen Pope. Being hardly warm in her papal Seat, her Piety gave place to her Leachery, insomuch, that admitting either her learned Fellow-traveller, or one of her Menials, as some imagine, into her loose Embraces, she conceived with Child, and as she grew bigger and bigger, every Day produced new Inventions to conceal her Inpregnation, so subtilely contrived, that this growing Infamy was known to none but him that was the Cause thereof: But Mischief on't, not dreaming that her Time approached so near, as she was going from the *Vatican* to *St John Laterans* in Procession, between *Nero's* Colosses and *St Clements*, she fell in Travel, and was delivered of a Son, and died in that very Place, having sat as Pope, two Years one Month and four Days, and was buried without the least Honour and Solemnity.

Jacobus Bergomenses differs little in Opinion from the aforesaid Relation, a Man whom *Trithemius* (*Lib. de Ecclesiasticis Scriptoribus*) applauds for being well read in Scripture, a famous Historiographer, and one that was wise, eloquent, and of a good Life and Conversation, and therefore we may dare Credit such a Person, who says, * *Jobannes Septimus Papa, natione Anglicus post Leonem Pontificem, Pontifex factus sedit, An. 2. Mens. 5. Hunc tradunt fuisse feminam, &c.* *John* the VIIth, by Parents *English*, was created Pope, next after *Leo*, and sat two Years five Months; they say this was a Woman, and that she went very young out of *Athens*, with a learn-

* *Supplement. Chron. lib. 11. ad Anno 858. Impres. Veneris, Anno 1486.*

learned Man that was in Love with her, and that thereby hearing good Professors, she profited so much, that coming to *Rome*, she had few like her in Divinity. Whereupon by her Reading, Disputing, Preaching and Praying, she got herself so much Favour, that upon *Leo's* Death, she was chosen Pope in his Room, as many Men say by common Consent; but see the Luck of it, a while after, she was got with Child by one of her Acquaintance, and was delivered thereof in the Time of her Papacy; for going from the *Vatican* to *St John Laterans* in Procession, between the *Colosses* and *St Clements*, Child-birth Pangs seized her e'er she was aware, and was delivered in the High-street without the Help of any Midwife; but she died presently, and was buried without the least Solemnity in the same Place, with her Bantling lying by her. Now, in detestation of so foul a Fact, and for the continuing the Memory of so lewd an Action, the Popes to this Day, when they go in Procession, to shew their Dislike to the Place of her Travel, which was in the midst of her Way, forsaking it, do turn into By-lanes and By-streets, till they have left that on their Backs, and then returning into the same Street again, they go forward with their Procession. And for avoiding the like Mischiefs for the future, it was decreed, that none should be consecrated Pope before the youngest Cardinal Deacon had tried by touching, (whilst the Person to be consecrated set on a Close-stool) that he was a Man.

I am not ignorant how incredulous this Story appears to the Romanists, and how fabulous and ridiculous some have endeavoured to render it by their Sophistry and Forgery, which shameful Pra-

4 *The LIFE and DEATH*

stices we need not wonder at, if we consider how
 customary it is for them to avow manifest Un-
 truths, and deny known Truths, especially if they
 produce any Advantage to the Vanity of their Po-
 pish Perswasion; all which is as easy to prove, as
 to object against them, which though it may be de-
 monstrated by divers Particulars, *viz.* by Parsons
 and Bishops, denying that they call the Pope their
 Lord God: By *Bellarminus* denying that any Je-
 suit had any Hand in the Gunpowder Treason: By
 their general denying that Pope *Honorius* the First
 was an Heretick, &c. Yet most apparently their
 Impudence appears, in the denying the Report of
 a *Joan* that was a *quondam* Pope of *Rome*; which I
 shall endeavour to prove by a Cloud of Witnesses,
 not any of our own Brethren, but the Sons of the
 Romish Church, which purposely I have done for
 the greater Confirmation of my Arguments; for
 as *Novatian* says, *de Trinitate firmum est genus pro-*
bationis quod etiam ab Adversario sumitur, ut veritas
etiam ab inimicis veritatis probetur; that is a strong
 Proof which is wrung out of the Adversary, when
 the Enemies of Truth are driven to bear Witness
 unto the Truth. And as * another, *Amici contra*
amicum & inimici pro inimico invincibile testimonium
est. Which sounds thus as I conceive; the Testi-
 mony of a Papist against a Papist, and the Testi-
 mony of a Papist for a Protestant, is without Ex-
 ception. If I have given an impartial and true
 Account of this *Joan*, the Woman Pope, mani-
 festly proving there was such a Person who sat in
 the Papacy, and died therein with Infamy, against
 the Surmises and Objections made to the contrary
 by *Robert Bellarmin* and *Cæsar Baronius*, Cardi-
 nals;

* *Vives de Instrum. probabilitatis.*

nals; *Onuphrius, Harding, Saunders, Cope, Genebrard, Bernartius, Florimondus, Papirius, Maso, Parsons, &c.* I would then have the Romanist lay aside all Prejudice, and bear Witness with me, but if he can bring more solid Arguments to the contrary, I am ready to be convinced, being content to learn of him if he can better inform my Judgment, as * *St Augustin* did of *Tychonius* the Heretic. To conclude my *Præmium* with all Sincerity, I profess, that though it may be gathered out of *Campion* a Tyburn-martyr, and the Papiſts Champion, that they believe one Heaven cannot hold them and Protestants; tho' † *Costeras* wish strangely, that he may be damned with the Devil to all Eternity if any of us be saved; yet their Uncharitableness and Cruelty towards us from Time to Time extended causelessly, shall work no such Effect in me; but, on the contrary, I wish them well, and shall constantly pray for the Welfare of their Souls; that they may have Eyes to see the Truth, and Ingenuity to acknowledge it.

Give me Leave now to come to the Proof of this famous History of Pope *Joan*; and by the Way, methinks I hear some opinionative obstinate Romanist say, that the whole Story of Pope *Joan*, is a fond, vain, and meer Fable, a ridiculous Fiction, and so known to the more learned Sort of Protestants among you, but that you will not leave deluding the World with it for want of other Matter; besides, there are so many Improbabilities and moral Impossibilities in this Tale; as no Man

of

* Lib. 2. Retract. cap. 18. † *Fieri nequit ut Lutheranus, Jebennam, evadat, & externis ignibus eripiat. Si mentior damner ipse cum Lucifero, (saith Costerus) Resp. ad Refutat. Lucæ Oſandri Proposit. 8. pag. ult.*

6 *The LIFE and DEATH*

of any Judgment, Discretion, or common Sense, will give Credit thereto, but will easily see the Vanity thereof. In a Word, I say * he was a Knave that invented it, and he is a Fool that believeth it, especially if he compares it with what is written on the same Subject by *Buchingerus* in Germany, by *Charanza* in Spain, by *Onuphrius*, *Bellarmin*, and *Baronius* in Italy, by *Tarianus*, and *Bernartius* in Belgia, by *Pontacus* in Aquitania, by *Genebrard* and *Papyrius*, *Massonus* in France, by *Saunders*, *Cope*, *Harding*, *Father Parsons*, and others, which were *English Men*.

To all those Particulars, and what else hath been Objected, to prove the nullity of this History, I shall endeavour to answer and refute as mildly as the subject will permit, and first, did it not pass for current, *sans Contradiction*, till within some what more than a Century of Years, *viz.* Till the Year 1566. That *Onuphrius* the Fryer began to Boggle at it; he was the first that ever by reason indeavour'd to discredit the report of it, and yet confesseth that many Worthy men as well as vulgar, believed it for a truth: *Multos & magni nominis viros Historiam hanc Suscipere eamquoque vulgo verum existimari.* Besides, it is to be found in *Marianus Scotus*, in *Sigibert*, in *Gotefridus Viterbiensis*, in *Johannes de Parisiis*, in *Martinus Polonius*, in *Petrarch*, in *Boccace*, in *Ramulsius Cestrensis*, in *Johannes Lucidus*, in *Alphonsus e Carthagena*, in *Theodoricus de Niem*, in *Chalcocondilas*, in *Platina*, in *Palmerius*, in *Nauclerus*, in *Sabellicus*, in *Trithemius*, in *Voleteranus*, in *Bergomensis*, in *Schedel*, in *Lazius*, in *Fulgosus*, in *Textor*, in *Gassar*, in *Mantuan*, in *Crantius*, in *Caranza*, with many more of the

* Impudentissime ficta, stultissima credita. *Fernartius* de utilitate legenda hist. lib. 2. p. 105.

the Papish Faction; some *Grecians*, some *Italians*, *Spaniards*, *French*, *Germans*, *Polonians*, *Scots*, *English*, and yet not one of them a *Lutheran*. If these Authors added no Weight to the Verity of this History, yet methinks her Image might, which is set up among the rest of the Images of the Popes in the Famous Church of *Sienna* in *Ita'y*, and is to be seen there at this day; which the Bishop of that place would not suffer to be defaced at the last repairing of that Church, though the Jesuits did urge him much to do it. Moreover, was there not made of old for fear of such like cheats and abuses a Stool of Ease, on which Popes were set at their Inauguration, for proof of their Humanity? was their not a Marble Image set up as a Monument thereof, in the place where she Miscarried, viz. In one of the chiefest Streets in *Rome*, which Monument was likewise to be seen within this few Years, no longer ago than in the time of *Pius* the Fifth. Lastly, is it not Written by Men of their own Perswasion, that all Popes when they go in Procession, refuse to go through that shall in *Detestation of that Fact*, but go further about. To this the Romanists answer, it is not so much in Detestation of any such supposed Fact that they leave the straight and nearer way to the *Lateran Church*, but because that Street is *Augusta & aufractuosa*, a narrow winding Street, and in that respect unfit for so great a Train as ordinary accompanies the Pope to pass orderly through, as *Onuphrius*, *Belarmin*, and *Remondus* have observed. But if it be true what *Philippus Bergomensis* hath registred, this observation is false, * *eo omisso* (saith he) speaking of the Popes turning out of that place of the street wherein Madam *Joan* was deliver'd without the

* In Supplement Chroned. Annum 158.

8 *The LIFE and DEATH*

the Benefit of a Warm Bed, Midwife, Nurse, or Caudle to comfort her, *Declinat ad diverticula vicofque, & sic leco detestabili poftergato reintrantes, iter perficiunt quod caperunt*; that is, leaving the way, they turn into by-lanes and by-streets, and as soon as they are beyond that Detestable Place, they turn into their way again, and so go on to the Perfecting their Proceffion. Now, if upon their leaving that Street, they enter into By-lanes, &c. And having past that odious place, they turn in again; the reason why they leave that Street cannot be because it is narrow and winding in and out, for doubtless those By-lanes are as narrow. And by their turning out and returning into the same way again, they wind as often in and out as if they went along through the same Street, though it were very crooked. In Confirmation whereof * *Platina*, who knew *Rome* very well, and was desirous enough to cover the Popes Nakedness herein, as much as he could with any Honesty, confesseth that this is probable enough.

As to the Marble Image erected *in perpetuam rei memoriam* † *The odoricus de Niem*, who was formerly a Secretary to a Pope, says, *ad hoc vetus Statua marmorea illic posita figurative monstrat hoc factum*, unto this day an old marble Image erected in that place, sheweth the Matter under a figure. Now observe what a slender Evasion the Romanists make use of, in acknowledging there was such a Statue but resembled not in the least a Woman lying-in, nor was the Boy engraved by her like a Child in Swadling-Clouts, but like one of some Years.

This

* *De vitis Pontif*, in vita Johan. 8.

† *Lib. de privilegiis & juris Imperii.*

This Exception is to little purpose, for that age was an ignorant, illiterate, witless age, and therefore perhaps had no more Skill in Graving, Carving, and Painting, than they had, whom *Ælian* mentions, who were forced to write over or under their Pictures, *Hic est Bos; ille Equus; hec Arbor*; this is a Bull, this an Horse, and this a Tree; that men might know what Creature it was they Painted. *Aneas Sylvius* pointing to a more ingenious time than that of *Pope Joan*, condemns the Painters and Carvers thereof for notorious bungling Botchers, saying thus, *If we could take a view of grav'd or Painted Images made two or three hundred Years ago, you would find them pourtraiated not like men, but Monsters and Hobgoblins*; Such an Artist probably had the handling of *Pope Joan's*, Statue; however as ill framed as it was, *Pius Quintus* thought as it stood, that it discovered more than he willingly would have known, and therefore removed it and cast it into the *River Tyber*, not because it disgraced the Street, but *ut memoriam illius aboleret*, that he might extinguish the memory of that shameful Action, and this is not only witnessed by Travellers, that weré in *Rome*, but by *Elias * Hassenmuller* formerly a Member of the Fiery Order of *Jesuits*.

Bellarmin in *lib. de Rom. Pontif.* will not allow of this *Stool of Easment* for, says he, of a stool of Easment to try the Pope's Sex, there is no where any mention; *Onuphrius* averring that it is but a meer toy, and an idle conceit of idle People; yet *Philippus Bergomensis*, a Man of great Learning and Esteem in his time, (as *Trihemius* attests) records it as an undeniable Truth, that there was such a

C

thing;

* *Historia Jesuitici Ordinis cap. 10. de Jesuitarum Patre & Matre.*

thing; for upon mention made of Pope Joan's Story, *Ad evitandos similes errores Statutum fuit* (saith he) *ne quis de cætero in B. Petri collocaretur sede priusquam per perforatam sedem futuri Pontificis genitalia ab ultimo Diacono Cardinale attraherentur:* for avoiding like Error for the future it was decreed that no Man should be held for Pope, till the youngest Cardinal Deacon had found by Trial while he sat upon a Stool of Easment, that he was a Man; which is likewise testified by * *Laonicus Chalchocondilas*; for upon relation of that Story he thus proceeds, *Qua propter ne decipiantur iterum sed rem cognoscant neque ambigent Pontificis creati virilia tangunt & quit angit acclamat: Mas nobis Dominus est:* that is, least they should be deceived again, they make proof of the Pope's manhood by feeling, and he that feels, makes it known by crying *Our Lord and Master is a Man.* And *Sabellinus* writing the same matter, says, *There is to be seen at this day in the Pope's Pallace a Marble Chair wherein the new Pope presently upon his Election is set down, that as he sits, the lowest Deacon may make trial of his Manhood by touching or feeling.*

As much may be read in *William Brewin*, who lived in the Year 1470. for in † *Capella Salvatoris* (saith he) *In the Chappel of our Saviour, there are two or more Marble Chairs with holes in them, wherein (as I heard) there they make Proof whether the Pope be a Man or no.*

The Romanists confess there is such a Chair, but never intended for the use afore recited; for (say they) he sits not therein in a corner, but in the great Church of *St John Lateran*, where a vast concourse of People come to see him; where he is attend-

* De rebus Turcicis lib. 6. pag. 98. † *Wilhelmus Brewin* in Codice Manuscripto de 7. Ecclesiis principii Urbis Romæ.

attended by the whole College of Cardinals, with many Embassadors of Kings and Princes; whereas a closer place was fitter for that Purpose, and they might more conveniently have made tryal of his Manhood in the Conclave, wherein he was chosen, and so they did it seems; for presently upon their electing of him, before they proclaimed him *Pope*, they sate him in a Chair in their Conclave, as you may read in the *Book of holy Ceremonies*, dedicated to *Leo the Tenth*, whereby you may see how idly * *Bellarmin* talks, (if I may be so bold to speak so of so great a Cardinal) who taking upon him to clear the Point, never speaks of his sitting in the Chair in the Conclave, but only of his sitting in other Chairs at *St John Laterans*, as though he had been chaired only Publickly, and not in private, and that he himself had said sufficiently to the Point in question, by proving, that in Publick there was no such Conclusion tried with the *Pope*; whereas the conclusion was tried in secret. Now, should you ask the Question of any of them to what end does he sit in such a Chair in Publick, I warrant you the reply will be, *That thereby he may be put in mind, that he is not God but Man: inasmuch as he stands in need of a Close-stool as well as others*; so says *Florimondus*: and indeed I think he hath need to be put in mind thereof. For though some Papists deny it shamefully, yet there have been Popish *Parasites*, † who have in plain Terms called the *Pope* (as *St Thomas* termed *Christ*, *Job. xx. 28.*) their Lord, and God; and there are still such, who give him such Titles as are due to God alone, and rob God of some part of his Power, to be stow it on him.

See

* Lib. 3. de Rom. Pont. cap. 24. † N. D. in his *Warning to Sir. Fr. Hastings* Encounter, cap 2. fol. 30.

See *Stapleton princip. fid. doctrin. præfat. ad Greg.*

13. *Plane supremum in terris numen.*

But methinks they should not need to have set him in such a Chair, to such a Purpose for his own necessity would have compell'd him to set himself thereon ordinarily every day; and his Chamberpot would have served to put him in mind of his Humanity sufficiently: thus *Antigonus* the elder (as * *Plutarch* relates) was convinced that he was a Man and not a God. Besides, methinks they should not have intended such a Mystery by such a Ceremony; because they set him therein before he was in his *Pontificalibus*: for till he be Mitred, till he be Crowned, till he have received the Keys, whereby is denoted his Power to bind and loose; and a Rod whereby is signified his Power to punish; I say I should think there should be no fear of forgetting himself. Again, had it not been better think you if they had aimed at any such Mark, to have caused a *Boy* to come every Morning unto the Pope's ChamberDoor (after the example of *Philip King of Macedon*) who should have whipt him out of his bed, and bid him remember that he was mortal.

And now see how industrious the Romanists are, by endeavouring to obliterate, or remove whatever may assist the Continuance of the Memory of this Pope *Joan*; for as *Pius Quintus* threw into *Tyber* her Marble Image which stood in the Street where she was delivered, so *Clement* the Eighth, by the Perswasion of Cardinal *Baronius*, defaced her Image in the Church of *Siena*; now if the present Pope will but burn all the Books too which are writ of Pope *Joan*, all Evidences then will be totally lost, it would be easy for them to prove, that there was never such

a *Ponti-*

* Part. 2. Moral. lib. de *Iside* & *Osiride*.

a *Pontifical Woman*. Ay, but (says the Papist) what if her Image had stood still? Is there any Sense, that because of such a Portraiture we are thereby bound to believe there was such a Pope; if we believe Painters and Carvers we should make fine Work indeed; and so we shall indeed if we believe there Painters and Carvers. For we find the *Trinity* painted by them in the Likeness of a Man with three Faces; sometimes like a Man with two Heads having a *Dove* between them; both which Fashions of Painting the *Trinity* is monstrous in * *Bellarmin's* Opinion. We find our Saviour CHRIST painted with long Hair, as though he had been a *Nazarite* by Vow, which Conceit is controuled by † holy Writ. We find him set on a Weather-cock on the Top of the Temple of *Jerusalem*, as though the Temple had a Spire-steeple like ours, which is false. We find the Virgin *Mary* treading on the *Serpent's* Head, which the Scriptures foretold CHRIST himself should do. We find her richly apparelled in a Gown of wrought Gold; whereas, questionless her Habit was very mean and ordinary; and with a Pair of Beads in her Hand; whereas a thousand Years after Christ, Beads were not used throughout the World. Besides, their Painters recommend to us a *Saint on Horseback*, whom they call *George*, and another on Foot, as big as a Giant, whom they call *Christopher*, and a *Sbe-Saint* broken on a Wheel, whom they call *Catharine*, and a Fourth drawn in Pieces by Horses, nick-named *Hippolatus*: Whereas in all Antiquity there is no mention made of any such *Saints*. Thus you see we have no Reason barely

* Lib. 2. de Imag. cap. 8. † For *Nazarites* must drink no wine, Numb. vi. 3. yet our Saviour did, *Matth.* xi. 19. and xxvi. 29.

barely to believe Painting and Carving, but if Book-proof or Tradition concur with them, we may give some Credit to them. * *Bellarmin* himself is of the Opinion, *That there can be no Error in Substance, as long as (besides Book-proof) there are Monuments of Stone or of Brass for the Proof of any antient Report.* Thus, if he speaks the Words of Truth, the Truth is with us; for, besides the Monuments of Stone, we have the Testimonies of many authentic Writers; amongst whom, *Charanza* a Spaniard, who, *Florimondus* says, disproved the Story of Pope *Joan* before he undertook the Task himself; but he believes him; for these are his Words, † *Jobannes VIII. Papa 105. sub Petro sedit An. 2. Mens. 1. Dies 4. de hoc ferunt, quod malis artibus Pontificatum adeptus est, quoniam cum esset femina, sexum mentitus est; & postea à servo compressa, doloribus circumventa, mortua est:* In English thus, ‘*John the Eighth Pope of that Name, and the 105th Pope from St Peter, sat two Years one Month four Days. They report of this Person, that he got the Papacy by evil Means, because he feign himself to be a Man, whereas in Truth he was a Woman, who being afterwards begot with Child by one of her Servants, fell in Travel and died therein.*’

‡ *Kirantius*, who is recommended by *Pontanus* for a famous Historiographer, and one that writ before *Luther's* Time, and is therefore the less to be suspected for Partiality, says thus, *Jobannes Anglicus ex Maguntia mulier, mentita sexum, &c.* ‘*John English, a Woman of Mentz, dissembled her Sex, and being of a quick Wit, and voluble Tongue*

* Lib. 2. de Rom. Pont. cap. 11. † In Sum. Conc. p. 370. Edit. Paris, 1564. ‡ Mitrop. l. 2. Edit. Colon. 1574. & Francof. 1590.

* Tongue, and one that could talk Scholastically,
 * she won the Hearts of all Men, so that she arri-
 * ved to the Dignity of Pope, no Man knowing
 * any other but she was a Man, save one of her
 * Servants, who afterwards got her with Child:
 * They say she was delivered near the Colosses, be-
 * fore she had sat two Years compleat.*

Mantuan, who is commended by *Tritbemius* for
 an excellent Theologift, a knowing Philosopher,
 and a famous Poet, the only Man in all *Italy* in his
 Time, hath this Story in his Description of Hell;
 and describing what Manner of Persons were there,
 saith he,

*Hic pendebat adbuc sexum mentita virilem,
 Fœmina, cui triplici Phrygiam diademate, mitram
 Extollebat apex & pontificalis adulter.*

Here hangs a Woman, once who past for Man,
 Who truckt for Breeches, Petticoats, and Fan.
 By her great Parts, she gain'd with much Renown,
 The Phrygian Mitre, with the triple Crown.
 Here hangs that Lecher too, by whom 'tis said,
 The Woman Pope did lose her Maidenhead,
 And in the Street without Midwife brought to-Bed.)

Achilles Gassar, in his Epitome of all Histo-
 ries and Chronicles, collected out of the best Hi-
 storiographers, writes thus, * *John the Eighth*, by
 Country English, by Calling a Pope, yet by Sex a
 Woman, sat shamefully as Pope two Years and six
 Months.

Ravifus Textor, in his *Officina*, writes thus, *Sci-*
tum ex Chronicis & à majoribus scriptum Johannem
Anglicum ab Ephebis sexum verilem simulasse, & tan-
dem fato nescio quo, aut Fortuna certè volente, ad
pontifi.

* *Achilles Eassar*, in *Epit. Hist. &c. Antwerp*, 1536.

pontificatum pervenisse, in quo annos circiter duos sederit post Leonem quartum, neque prius innotuerit facti veritas, quam à quodam ex domesticis impregnata, tandem emiseric partum. It is a Thing well known by the *Cbronicles*, and written by our Ancestors, that *John English*, from her Youth upward, reported herself in every Respect like a Man, and at length, by I know not what Destiny, certainly by very great Fortune, she became Pope, and sat about two Years after *Leo* the Fourth, and nobody knew this Fallacy and Deceit till she was with Child by one of her menial Servants, and delivered thereof: And * *Fulgosus*, who was a noble and learned Man, and sometimes *Duke of Genoa*, affirms the same Story for a Truth, saying that *John the Eighth was at length detected to be a Woman.*

Laziardus is of the same Opinion; so is *Hartmannus Schedel*, a Doctor of Physick, yet not ignorant of holy Scriptures, nor atheistically inclined, as it is common for such to be, yet by *Florimondus*, he is accused for being one of the Brood of the *Hussites*, and lived in *Nuremberg* when that City was infected with *Husse's* Herefy, and therefore would fain perswade his Party that no Credit is to be given to him, because whatever he writ concerning the Popedom of *Joan the Woman* was partial. In Answer to this, I rather believe *Florimondus* to be one of the Brood of abominable Liars; for *Hartmannus Schedel*, born in *Nuremberg*, was * Student in *Padua*, where he was created Doctor of Physick by the great *Matthiolus*, and he was so far from *Husse's* Opinion, that in the same Book quoted in the Margin, he hath inserted

* De dictis factisque memorabilibus, lib. 8. cap 3. Tit. de feminis quæ doctrina excel. † Ego *Hart. Schedel*, Doctor Patavinus, &c. circa Anno 1440. f. 252.

one whole Chapter about the Heresy of the *Hufsites*, and their Original. * *Volateran*, an Historiographer of good Note, makes no Doubt of the Reality of this Story; and *Trithemius*, Abbot of St *Martin's* Monastery in *Spanheim*, a reverend, well read, and very learned Man writes thus, *In the same Year that Pope Leo died, John English succeeded for two Years and five Months.* Now, some say she was a Woman, and that she was known so to be but to one only, who was her Servant, by whom at length she was begot with Child, and thereof delivered in the open Street. For this Cause some would not reckon her among the Number of Popes, disliking this villainous Action: With whom, in Matter of Fact, corresponds *Sabellicus*, a Man † of great Esteem in *Venice*, yea the most famous in his Time for all Manner of Learning; of whose Books, *Pius* the Third professed he valued as much, as *Alexander* did *Homer's* *Iliads*.

Wernerus Roleunick, who is reckoned by *Paulus Langius* among the most famous of the Order of *Carthusians*, and commended by *Trithemius* for a Man of profound Learning and singular Devotion, in Confirmation of what is aforesaid, writes thus: * ' This *John*, by Sirname, *English*, by his Country, of *Mentz*, is reported to have sat as Pope about this Time: and she was a Woman, but went in Man's Apparel. She profited so well in Divinity, that she had no Fellow, and so was chosen to be Pope; but after a while, being great with Child, as she went in public Procession, she was delivered thereof, and died. And this

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* *Anthropologia*, lib. 22. pag. 503. edit. Basil. 1556. † *Sabellicus* vir undecunque doctissimus claret hodie apud Venetos maxim on pretio. *Trithemius* lib. de Script. Eccles. ‡ *Fasciculus Temp.* ætate 6 ad annum, 854.

seems to be the sixth Pope to this Day, which was called *Holy* and proved nought : And therefore he was plagued by God, as the rest before him were plagued, neither is she in the Register of Popes.' Hence some say, because she was a *German*, a *German* is not permitted to be elected Pope, but this is manifestly false ; for since, several *Germans* have been advanced into the Popedom.

Mattheus Palmerius, * an *Italian*, and one of the choicest Men which were at the Council kept by *Eugenius*, the IV. against the Council of *Brasil*; *Pontifex* 106. *Johannes Anglicus*, (saith he) *sedit An. 2. Mens. 3. fama est hunc Johannem feminam fuisse, & uni soli familiari cognitam, qui eam complexus est, & gravis facta peperit Papa existens; quemobrem inter Pontifices non numerant quidem, ideo nomini numerum non facit*; that is, *John* was a Woman, yet not known so to be, but to one of her Familiars, who lay with her, she was delivered in the Time of her Papacy, and because some reckon her not among the Popes, there are no more *Johns* for her, than if she had never been. The Account that *B. Platina* gives of this learned Whore, or as Mr *Fox* calls her the Whore of *Babylon*) is contradicted by some, and supposed to be never written by the Author aforesaid, but foisted in, so *Bernartius* conjectures; and to confirm his groundless Supposition, (saith he) † *Antonius Hetweeld*, a Man of good Report, and Alderman of *Lovain*, told me, that one *Engelbertus Boonius*, a reverend *German* Dean had oftentimes told him, that he had seen many antient Manuscripts of *Platina* in the *Vatican* of *Rome*, and pursued them diligently,

* Trithemius de Script. Ecclesiast. † Bernartius de utilitate legendæ hist. lib. 2. p. 111.

ligently, and yet found not any mention made of this Pope *Joan*.

Surely this reverend Dean had the Luck on't to light on such antient Manuscripts, as the Alderman of *Lovain* informed *Bernartius* of, but how comes it about that neither *Onupbrius*, *Platina*'s *Commentator*, *Bellarmin*, nor *Baronius*, who have had as free Access into the *Vatican Library*, as any, could never light on these Manuscripts as well as he? And how comes it that none since *Bernartius* thought good to except in that Manner against *Platina*? The Acknowledgment of those two Pillars of the *Romish Church*, *Bellarmin* and *Baronius*, with *Onupbrius*, that this Story is originally in *Platina*, induceth me to believe, that either *Bernartius*, belied the Alderman, or the Alderman belied the reverend Dean, or the Dean made a Fool of the Alderman, and made the other so too by Consequence: For questionless had there been any such Manuscripts, some of them would have found them out, and made them public to wipe off that Infamy they in re than barely stand suspected of. For they are glad of narrower *Fig-tree-leaves* to cover their *Nakedness* withal, than such Manuscripts, could they be produced.

Now since it is evident, that *Platina* did write the Life of this *Lady Errant Joan*, who coming from *Athens*, became at *Rome* a teeming Pope; the Romanists have endeavoured to find another Hole to creep out at, denying that he writ by public Authority, and did not take his History out of the public Registers of the Church. The Belief hereof is an Error, and a gross one too; for *

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Platina

* Proœmio lib.^o de vitis Pontif. in Epistola ad Zistum 4.

Platina himself professeth, that he writ by the Command of *Sextus* the Fourth; and *Onuphrius* confesseth, that he followed *Damasus*, *Anastatius*, and such Historiographers, as had written before of the same Matter. But, says *Florimondus*, *Platina* reported it rather to shew his reading, than for that he thought it true; for, (says he) had he imagined it true, he would have exaggerated it, and made the worst on't, that thereby he might have revenged himself of the Popes, at whom he was grievously incensed. For *Paul* the Second, (continues he which all Men know) racked him, and divested him of all his Dignities, and justly casting him into Prison, kept him there as long as himself lived. To this I answer, that he was racked and imprisoned by *Paul* the Second, is true, but that it was justly done is false; for *Trithemius* chargeth that Pope for so doing with Cruelty.

Yet suppose all were true, doth it follow in *Florimondus's* Logic, that because *Paul* the Second wronged *Platina*; ergo, *Platina* hated all Popes? And why not then. *Sixtus* the Fourth gratified *Platina* many Ways, setting him at Liberty, and restoring him his Dignities; ergo, *Platina* loved all Popes for his Sake? If one Man's Kindness could not work Love towards all, it is not likely that one Man's Unkindness should breed Hatred or Heart-burning against all; therefore notwithstanding this, we may well think, that *Platina* wrote what he thought, and the rather for that in the Words following, he professeth * that such a Thing may likely happen.

That

* Apparet ea quæ dixi ex his esse, qui fieri posse creduntur, lib. 6. pag. 98.

That I may not seem deficient in the Production of Testimonies for the farther Probation of this Story, give me Leave to insert some more; amongst none of the meanest, observe what *Chalcocondelis* says, 'It is well known, that a certain Woman was made Pope, by Reason they knew not her Sex. For all (almost) in the western Parts of *Italy*, shave their Beards. Now when she was great with Child, and came Abroad to solemnize some Day, or to say Service; as she was at Service, she was delivered of a Child in the Sight of all the People. Wherefore lest hereafter they should be deceived in like Sort, they make Trial of his Manhood by Touching, and he that toucheth proclaimeth, WE HAVE A MAN TO OUR POPE.'

These Words are allowed by them to be in the *Latin Translation*, but * *Baronius* will not admit of them in the *Greek*; for, (says he) *Clauserus*, his Interpreter, added in his Translation this Story, which is not to be found in the *Greek Copy*: And for further Perswasion, to make Men believe it, he says, that *Florimondus* hath excellently well discovered the Coufonage of *Clauserus*; for comparing *Clauserus's* Translation in *Latin*, with a *Frenchman's* Translation of the same in his Mother-Tongue, by that he found the Tale was not in *Calcobcondilas*; for there was not one Word of it in the *French Translation*. But why I pray may not the *Frenchmen* leave it out as well as *Clauserus*; it may be objected, (but how truly I know not) that this *Frenchman* was a faithful Translator, and durst

* Annal. Tom. 10. ad annum 853. numb. 66. Quamvis apud Chalcocondilum Latine redditum ejusmodi fabula reperitur esse descripta; non tamen ab ipso Authore positum scias sed ab impostore Clausus fraudulenter appositum.

durst not have left it out, if he had found it in the *Greek*, as *Florimondus* notes? And why may we not hold *Clauserus*, as * faithful an Interpreter as the *Frenchman*, yea more faithful, seeing the *Frenchman* was a Papist? For † Papists hold it lawful in translating to omit offensive Matter, and so doth no Protestant. If *Florimondus* or *Baronius* could have informed us where a Man might have seen a *Greek* Copy in which it is not, they had said something to Purpose, but to go about to disapprove it by a Translation of one of their own Creatures, they argue ridiculously, and if any of them gainsay that in the western Parts of *Italy*, all (almost) shave not their Beards, as some have made that vain Opposition, it is easily answered: For by the Pope's Canons, the *Italian* Priests, yea all the Priests of the western Church are to be shaven; so saith ‡ *Pontacus*, *Hic Papa (Anicetus) Clericos comam & barbam radere in signum clericatus jussit*. 'Pope *Anicetus* commanded the Clergy to 'shave both their Heads and their Beards, in Token that they were of the Clergy.' And, *Occidentalis ecclesie clerum, ab ipsis ecclesie Christiane primordiis barbam radendi morem tenuisse, asserit Gregorius VII.* 'Pope *Gregory* the Seventh avoucheth, 'that from the Apostles Days the western Clergy 'did shave their Beards, to whom * *Durandus*, 'who lived about the Year 1280, subscribeth. For he acknowledgeth, that before, and in his Time, they were shaven, proving the Lawfulness of it out of *Ezekiel*, and shewing the Mysteries that are imported by it. *Johannes Pierius Valerianus*,

* *Fidus Interpres prætermittere non ausus fuisset, si in Græco exemplari exeratum invenisset.* † *Gretser lib. 2 de jure, &c. prohib. lib. malos cap. 10.* ‡ *Chronogr. lib. 2*
 * *Rational. Divin. Offic. 2. de Ministris, &c.*

anus, attests the same, imputing the Error of electing Pope *Joan* to the ordinary shaving of Beards, because by that Means one could hardly know a Man from a Woman, which Custom is shamefully revived in these fantastical Times among our Gentry, whose close shaved withered Countenances, are noways distinguishable from an antiquitated Gentlewoman, but by their long Wigs, which seem to hide those Imperfections which attend on Age.

For further Proof of the Verity of this Story, it will be expedient to give you an Account what *Theodoricus de Niem* (Secretary to a Pope) relates, * ‘ *John*, called *English*, was a Woman born at *Mentz*, and she studied at *Albens*, apparelled like a Man, where she profited so well in the Arts, that coming to *Rome*, she read there the liberal Sciences, and was held so sufficient a Reader, that many of the better Sort became her Hearers; afterwards with one Consent she was chosen Pope, and lived in that Dignity two Years and upwards: But taking herself more than before to Idleness and Pleasure, she could not live so continently as she did, in her mean, yet studious Condition: Whereupon one Day as she went with the Clergy and People of *Rome*, (according to the Custom of that Time) in solemn Procession, being attired in the usual Papal Ornaments, she was delivered of her first begotten Son, (the Father whereof was her Servant) near the Temple of Peace, which stands in the City; as it is evident by an old Marble Image which stands there to this Day, to denote so much in a Figure. And hereupon it is that when the Popes go from the *Vatican* to St

John

* De Privilegiis & juribus imperii.

‘ *John Laterans*, and back again; they go not the
 ‘ direct Way thither, but by other Streets farther
 ‘ about, and so make their Journey longer’.

I shall relate nothing of what *Petrarch*, *Boccace*,
Lucidus, and our Countryman *Higden* says to this
 Purpose, since there are none so obstinate, but
 will confess they all have writ thereof, but only a
 little Touch upon what * *John Paris* writes as to
 this Matter, who lived about the Year 1280, and
 read publickly in the University of *Paris*, with
 great and deserved Commendation, as well in Di-
 vinity as Humanity: He shewing how sometimes
 a Man may lawfully dispute, and take Exception
 against the Pope, in respect of his Person † notes,
 that such a Person may be chosen as is not capable:
Ut si esset fœmina, vel hæreticus, sicut fuerunt aliqui qui
ob hoc non enumerantur in Catalogo Paparum. As
 for Example, (saith he) if he prove a Woman, or
 an Heretick, as some have done, who in that Res-
 pect are not reckoned in the Catalogue of the
 Popes.

What an infinite Number of Witnesses could I
 produce to verify this Story, whose Testimonies
 though ever so clear, yet the *Romanists* the Oppo-
 sers of Truth, will cavil at it. *Martinus Polonus*,
 because he hath writ the Truth concerning Pope
Joan, (for no other Reason that I can find) they
 call him *simple, ignorant Man, given to Vanity, and*
only famous for Fables, for that is ‡ *Bernartius* his
 Censure of him. See the Rashness of our later
 Generation of Papists; for * *Polonus* was an Arch-
 bishop,

* Trithem. de Script. Eccles. & Possevinus in apparatu Sa-
 cro verbo, *Johan. Parisiensis*. † De Potestate Regia & Pa-
 pali. ‡ Martinus Polonus fabulis tantum celebris, cætero ob-
 scurus homo. * Archiep. Cosentinus & Pœnitentiarius Papæ
 Possevin. Apparatus sacer verbo Martinus Polonus.

bishop, and Plenipotentiary to the Pope; he was learned in the holy Scriptures, and not ignorant of secular Learning; he was one whom *Platina* relied much on for Matter of History, and applauded by him for a Man of a good Life and Conversation. He was the Man, whom the Author of *Fasciculus Temporum*, and *Jacobus Bergomensis*, two good Historiographers, professed that they followed especially; and yet he is abused with undeserved Titles of Ignorance for speaking the Truth.

The Premises considered, one would think there needed no other Quotations for farther Proof of a Matter so notorious, however since we have such Plenty of Testimonies, it will not be irrequisite to insert some more, that may for ever stop the Mouths of Truth's Objectors and Opponers: And first, *Marianus Scotus*, who was born in the Year 1028, * a Man of Estimation whilst he lived, and when dead was held a Saint, and by *Baronius* was stiled, *Nobilis Chronographus*, a worthy Chronologer; in his Chronicle, thus we read, *Leo Papa obiit Kalend. Augusti, huic successit Joanna mulier, An. 2. Mens. 5. Dieb. 4.* that is, 'Leo the Pope died in the Kalends of *August*, after him succeeded *Joan* the Woman, who sat two Years, five Months and four Days.' † *Bellarmin* contradicts this, saying, that he who published *Krantius Metropolis* at *Cologne*, in the Year 1574, doth witness; *In antiquissimis exemplaribus Mariani Scoti non haberi Johannem Papam feminam*; that in the antient Copies of *Marianus Scotus*, there is no mention made of Pope *Joan* the Woman. What this *He* should be that gives this Testimony I never

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* Ab omnibus honore habebatur & non sine opinione sanctitatis sepelitur, Trithemius de Script. Ecclesiasticis. † Lib. 4. de Rom. Pont. cap. 24.

• ver yet could learn, nor that he was a Man of any Credit; besides, there is no Reason that a nameless *Sir*, all Mr *Anonymus* should be credited against printed Copies, especially if it be true, which * *Bellarmin* saith in another Case: *Author sine nomine est sine autoritate*: 'A Man without a Name 'is without Credit:.' And, *Canonus a consilio cuius ne nomen quidem extet facile contemni potest*: 'A 'Canon out of a Council, whose Name is not 'known may very well be slighted.' But would you know the Reason why *Bellarmin* did not name him? You may suppose, not because he was ignorant of his Name, but because he was but a mean Fellow, a Printer, a poor Batchelor of the Law, a Man of slender Reputation; for he is named in the first Page of the Book *Ferwinus Calenius Lippiensis*: And what was such a Fellow to run away with a Story of this Consequence upon his bare Word in this Manner; † *Quæ hic Author de Johanne fœmina refert in odium Romanorum Pontificum conficta fuisse ab illos quos ipse deceptus sequitur ut alios omittamus quos Onuphrius in Platinam scribens recenset, testantur Marianus Scotus & Sigibertus, quorum quæ supersunt M. S. exemplaria fraudem illorum detegunt, qui eorum impressis voluminibus id inseruerunt.* 'That this which the Author here-
 ' of reports touching Pope *Joan* is but counterfeit
 ' Stuff, devised to make the Pope odious; to say
 ' nothing of such Proofs as *Onuphrius* gives in his
 ' Annotations on *Platina*, *Mertianus*, *Scotus*, and
 ' *Sigibert*, do testify, whose Manuscripts remain-
 ' ing on Record discover their Falshood who have
 ' chopt his Tale into their printed Volumes;'
 which *Bellarmin*, nor any other durst or dare a-
 vouch

* Lib. 4. de Rom. Pont. cap. 13. † Annotat. in lib. *Kran-
 tii Metrop.*

vouch, the contrary being confessed directly by *Baronius* : * *Sigibert's* Words are these, 'The Report is, That this *John* was a Woman, and that one only who laid with her, knew so much ; and that at length, even in the Time of her Papacy she was delivered of a Child. Whereupon it is that some reckon her not among the Popes, and that there is not one Pope *John* the more in Number for her.' Notwithstanding this, the *Romanists* deny that there is any such thing in the antient, true, and approved Copies of *Sigibert*, and if there be any such thing found, some paltry Fellow, (as *Bernartius* notes) hath been tampering with his Writings, and that *Sigibert* never writ it is fully witnessed by *Genebrard*. Pray here observe the Canonists, (when Popes alledge Popes for Proof) do note, that it is *familiaris probatio* ; meaning, it may be as much as that in the Proverb, *Ask my Fellow if I be a Thief*. But say they in the Monastery of *Gemble* in *Flanders*, there is extant the Original of *Sigibert*, which wants this Story, and for Proof hereof, they have the Oath of one *Protasius* a *Franciscan*, who saw it, and there, (as he saith) *Sigibert* lived, there he wrote this Book with his own Hands, there he left it after Life as a Monument of his Love. There it is shewn by the *Monks* to such as come thither for a Piece of Excellency and Rarity.

Now judge you whether this paltry Frier is to be believed before † *Trithemius*, who, (says he) lived not there when he writ the Book, for he writ that and many others in the Monastery of *St Vincent*, within the City of *Metensis*.

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* In chronico ad An. 184. printed at *Paris*, 1513. † De scriptoribus ecclesiasticis *Sigibertus* cum in Cænobio. 8. *Vincentio Metensi* ad instruend. pueros esset positus scripsit. Hist. l.

The Monks shewing this Book as *Sigibert's* own to all Comers, is a very slender Argument to prove that it is his: For I have read of * a Monk, who gave out that he had brought from the East some of the Sound of the Bells which hung in *Solomon's* Temple, and † that he could shew among other Relicks, some of the Hairs which fell from the *Seraphical Angel*, when he came to imprint the five Wounds of *Christ* in *St Francis's* Body, and I have ‡ read of others, who shew the Pilgrims who go to *Jerusalem*, a three cornered Stone, assuring them it is that very Stone whereof *David* spoke, saying, *The Stone which the Builders refused is the Head of the Corner*, *Psalm*. cxviii. 22.

Now as Monks and Papists couzen others, so they are often cheated themselves; for many of them do verily believe they have that which they have not. Do not many of them perswade themselves that they have that *Syndon* wherein *Christ's* Body was lapped, when it was interred, wherein, (as they say) is to be seen to this Day the Picture of *Christ*. Others think they have the Nails wherewith *Christ* was nailed to the Cross, and in like Manner are they deceived in a Thousand several Sorts of Relicks.

But grant that this Story of Pope *Joan* is not to be found in some Copies of *Sigibert*, that does not argue that it was never writ by him; it is probable it may be left out by some who have transcribed his Manuscript, which we may as well be induced to believe, and upon as good Grounds as that the Words of *Ælfricus*, which oppose Transubstantiation were cut out of a Fragment of an Epistle of his in the Library of *Worcester*, as

* Mr.

* *Virgerius* Anno^o. in Catalog. hæret. Romæ conflatum, An. 1559. fol. 17. † *Ibid*, ‡ *Bellonus* obser. lib. 2. cap. 83.

* Mr Fox doth prove apparently. Thus is this Story of Pope Joan cut out of a very fair Manuscript of *Ranulfus Cestrensis*, which is now to be seen in the Library of *New-College* in *Oxford*: We need not wonder at such unjust Proceedings of the Papists, since they give Direction, that, † *Qua fame proximorum, & præsertim Ecclesiasticorum, & Principum detrahunt, corrigentur, atque expurgentur.* 'That such Things should be alter'd, or 'put out, which tend to the Discredit of the 'Clergy;' and doth not this touch their Ecclesiastick Estate to the very Quick? Doth not *Possevin* advise, that the ‡ Note in *John Nevison* the Lawyer, which makes mention of Pope Joan, should be razed out? *Dele* (saith he) *quia Johannes hæc scemina Chimæ ra est, & impostura calumniatorum*; 'blot it out (saith *Possevin*) because *John* 'this Woman was a meer *Chimæra*, and a Forgery 'of Calumniators.'

For further Proof that this *John* was a meer Fiction, Cardinal *Baronius* would make us believe, that those of the best Credit in History, and who have writ most of her, do not positively aver that there was such a Woman Pope, but make their Report of her with a *sic aiunt*, or an *ut asseritur*, but he brings no other Proof thereof then *teste me ipso*; which however it may go for Proof among Princes, yet is no Proof among Scholars; and for my part without Proof I will believe nothing, let who will be the assertor, especially if he be a Papist. For as * *Sigismund* the Emperor,

* Aët. & Monum. Allegations against the six Articles, p. 1304. Edit. 1570. † Indix lib. prohib. per Clementem VIII. de Correct. lib. ‡ *Johannes Nevison*, Sylva Nuptialis. page 319. * *Rerum Memorab. Paralipom. Hist. Abbat. Ursperg. annexa. page 394.*

peror, said of *Julian* the Cardinal Legate at the Council *Basil*, when one commended him highly to him; *tamen Romanus est*; yea but he is a Roman; so I may say of any Romanist reporting things unknown, yea but he is a Romanist or Papist.

And now I pray, suppose it be so as *Baronius* saith it is, why may it not be true though it be delivered with an *ut asseritur*? It may be objected that Lies and false Reports are Midwiv'd into the World after that manner with, *so some say*, and *thus it is said*, I confess that many Lies, nay gross ones too, pass in such general Terms. As for Example, *Mensay* (saith the Popish golden Legend) *that St Patrick drove with his Staff all the venomous Beasts out of Ireland; and, that he obtained of the Lord, that no Irish Man should abide the coming of Anti-Christ*; the former of which *Harpfield Cope* confessed to be a Lie, and so I think all understanding Papists acknowledge the latter; else why do none of the learned Clergy of the Church of *Rome* alledge it, to clear the Pope from being Anti-Christ. Men say (saith *Nangiacus*, as *Genebrard* reporteth) that *Kentish* Men have Tails like brut Beast, because their Ancestors mocked *Austin* the Monk when he came to Preach among them; Nay, by some this is believed as a Truth to this Day, for but lately a *Kentish* Man travelling with a *Fleming*, and being constrained to lye together, the *Dutchman* would not go to Bed till he had satisfied his Eyes with the truth, or falshood of a *Kentish-long-tail*; that this is a Lie, there is nothing more evident, and yet this is reported with a *so 'tis said*. When *Boniface* the Martyr, was demanded whether it was Lawfull to use a Wooden Chalice at the Administration of the Lord's Supper; it is said he answered

answered thus, (saith * Duaren) *Olim aurei Sacerdotes ligneis vasis, nunc lignei aureis utuntur*: 'In former times Golden Priests used Wooden Chalice, now Wooden Priests use Golden ones: ' In like manner it was written that Pius the IIId, was wont to say, *Marriage upon just reason was forbidden Priests, but now upon better reason to be restored to them again*: of which saying of his there is no Question to be made, as may appear by this that † a Jesuit only thus replies, *That it was recanted by him, and denieth not that it was spoken by him*. That Alexander the IIIId trampled the Emperor Frederick under his Feet, and commanded one to say, *Thou shalt walk upon the Lyon, and Asp, the young Lyon, and the Dragon shalt thou tread under thy Feet*. Psal. 91. 13. † This is reported with an *ut fertur*, and yet they have little to say for themselves who call the Truth thereof into Question. That merry Cardinal, who seeing after the Death of Clement the IVth, that his Brethren the Cardinals called still for the Assistance of the Holy Ghost, and could not agree upon the Election of a new Pope, cryed out * *Domini disco operiamus tectum camerae hujus, quia Spiritus sanctus nequit ad nos per tot tecta ingredi*. 'Sirs, let us untile the Roof of this Room, for I fear the Holy Ghost cannot get to us through so many Slates: ' this is meerly * reported upon Election of Gregory, to have made these Verses.

*Papatus munus tulit Archidiaconus unus,
Quem Patrem Patrum fecit discordia fratrum.*

Nicholas

* De sacris Ecclesiast. benefic. ac Min. lib. 2. cap. 4.
† Pisanus de Continentia, cap. 2. † Duaremus de sac. Eccl. Min. lib. 1. cap. 2. * Onuph Annotat in Plat. de vitis Pontif. in vit. Gregorii. X. † Onuphr. ibid.

* *Nicholas Clemangis*, Arch-Deacon of *Baion* in *France*, writes upon hear say, that when *Balthasar*, commonly known by the name of *John* the *XXIII*d, held a Council at *Rome*, and caused according to Custom, before the first Session a Mass to be said for the Assistance of the Holy Ghost; immediately upon the Councils sitting, and *Balthasar's* advancing himself into the Chair of State; an Owl of a prodigious bigness (an evil Presage) came out of a Hole whooping and hollowing after a dreadful manner, and flew to the middle Balk of the Church, staring just in *Balthasar's* Face, to the great Astonishment of him and the whole Council, which immediately hereupon broke up. He further writes; that at the next Session she appeared again, staring in the Pope's Face as before, and could not be frightened away with what extraordinary Noise was made for that purpose; at length one throwing a Stick knockt her down and killed her. No Man will question the truth hereof, since he confesseth, that he had this Story of a faithful Friend, who assured him it was true upon his Credit. The worst Christians in *Italy* are the Romans; that of the Romans, the Priests are most wicked; and of the Priests, the lewdest are made Cardinals, and the baddest chosen to be Pope; † it is written, but with *asseritur*; yet to the skilful in History, and such as are acquainted with the Affairs of *Rome*, this doth not seem improbable. *In Bavaria palam ferunt Jesuitas dolium in Collegium subvexisse, è cujus fundo effracto, Meretrix in publicas plateas prolapsa sit* (saith ‡ *Hassen Müller*) 'They say
'openly

* Disput. super mater. Conc. gen. quæ habetur in Fasciculo Rerum. expetend. Col. 15. 35. fol. 21. † Sir *Edw. Sands*, of the Religion used in the *West*, pag. 91. ‡ Lib. 2. de verbo dei cap. 16.

'openly in *Bavaria*, that the Jesuits caused a
'Tub to be carried to their College, which break-
'ing by the way, a Wench dropt out of the End
'of it into the open Street:' And why may not
this be true, though it go but by Report. The
Papist's believe far more incredible Reports than
this, which tend to the Defamation of us Prote-
stants.

If any should object, that there were many
learned Men, and great Writers who lived in her
time, and some time after, who though they were
the Authors of several Books, yet make no mention
of any Woman that ever was Pope of *Rome*.
Besides *Rupertus*, an *English* Bishop, who, be-
cause he was excommunicated by the Pope, in-
vented and raked together all manner of Lies
against the Pope, yet notwithstanding objected
not this.

This Objection may be easily answered thus in
a Word: That most of all those Authors who
are Quoted by the Romanists to have made no
mention of Pope *Joan* were no Historiographers,
but such who employ'd their Pen, and time in
the Study of Philosophy, or Divinity, and there-
fore it is no more a Wonder that these learned
Men should be silent, as to this matter, than for
a Mathematician to write of Lines and Tagents
only, and not to write of Pharmacy and Physic.
Again, this *Rupertus* (commonly called *Groft-
head*) well skill'd in *Greek* and *Latin*, a Reader
of Divinity in the Schools, an excellent Preacher,
and a Man so eminent for a holy Life and Con-
versation, that it was the Opinion of the whole
Clergy of *England* and *France*, that there was not
such another among the Prelates of that time;

yet *Innocent* the IVth, called him * old Fool, furd and absurd Fellow, and his Reproaches were attended with Menaces. The reason is apparent in that he opposed the Pope, and had divers Cavils with him, insomuch that in one Letter he did not stick to tell him plainly, ' That ' by his Writs with (*non obstante*) he brought a ' deluge of Mischief on the World, whereby ' the Purity of the Church was defiled, and the ' Quietness of the Republick impeded and destroyed; that by his Reservations, Commendoes, and Provisions of Benefices for Parsons, ' who sought to fleece, and not to feed the Flock ' of God, he committed such a Sin, so contrary ' to the Doctrine of the Apostles and Evangelists, ' so hateful and detestable to Christ Jesus, as never ' Sin was, but the Sin of *Lucifer*, nor never shall ' be but the Sin of Anti-Christ, whom the Lord ' shall destroy with the Breath of his Mouth at ' his coming. He further signified that no Man ' could with a good Conscience obey any such ' Mandates as he sent abroad, though they came ' from the highest Order of Angels; for they ' tended not to Edification, but the utter ruin of ' the Church.' Are these Lies, by reporting whereof he sought to revenge himself on that present Pope? Sure it cannot be, since the † College of Cardinals confessed before the Pope, that they could not blame him for writing thus, having said nothing but what was justifiable. And here give me leave to recite what another, *Matthew Paris*, hath registred to Posterity concerning Popes and Papists. In his History of *England*,
in

* *Quis est ille delirus, surdus & absurdus, saith Innocent the fourth. Mat. Paris.* † *Ut vera fateamur vera sunt quæ dicit, said the Cardinals, Mat. Paris. p. 1192.*

in the Life of *William* the Conqueror, in the Year 1072, page 10. he reports how *Satanas*; & *omnes contubernium inferorum*; that the Devil and all his hellish Crew writ Letters gratulatory to all the Rabble of the *Romish* Clergy, acknowledging their Kindness, in that following their Pleasures, and desisting from instructing the People, they suffered more Souls to go to Hell than ever went before.

* That *Gregory* the VIIth, set the whole Church in an Uproar by deposing married Priests from their Priesthood, and forbidding the Laity to hear them say Service, because he had no Precedent for so doing, and because as some thought it was unadvisedly done, contrary to the Opinion of the antient Fathers, who wrote that the Sacraments of the Church, by the invisible working of the Spirit have like effect, whether they be Administred by good or bad Men. † He reports how a Cardinal Legate, at a Council held in *London*, inveighing against the Misses or Wenches of the Clergy, was taken the same Night after in Bed with a Whore or *Bona Roba*.

† He reports, how *Germanus*, Arch-Bishop of *Constantinople*, informed the Cardinals of *Rome*, that the *Grecians* stumbled much at this, that the Cardinals desired to be accounted his Disciples, who said, Silver and Gold I have none, and yet none so rich and covetous as they.

* He reports how the Pope enjoined by one Mandate to the Bishops of *Canterbury*, *Lincoln* and *Salisbury*, that they should provide for three Hundred *Romans* in Benefices next vacant; and

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they

* Ibid. An. 1074. † In *Hen.* 1. ad An. 1125. page 93.
† In *Hen.* 3. page 617. * In *Hen.* 3. p. 712. ad an 1240.

36 *The LIFE and DEATH*

they should dispose of no Benefice, till so many were compleatly provided for.

* He reports, how *Hugh* the Cardinal bragged, when *Innocentius* departed from *Lions*, that whereas there were four Stews, or Bawdy-Houses at his coming thither, he had left them but one, and that reached but from one end of the Town to the other.

† He reports, how the *Franciscans* and *Minorites* by Command from the Pope, appointed all sorts of People, young and old, Men and Women, sound and sick, and of all Conditions, to go for the recovery of the *Holy Land*, and yet the same Day, or a little time after, for Money dismissed them again.

He reports, how *Innocentius* the IVth, infligated the People of *Brabant* and *Flanders*, to commence a War against *Conradus* the Emperor, promising them for so doing forgiveness of all their Sins; yea, not only a Pardon for their own Sins, but the like for their Relations.

These, and the like Stories he records against the Pope being manuducted thereunto by Truth it self; but he meddles not with any thing which was done by any Pope within a hundred Years after Christ; and therefore it is no Wonder that he speaks nothing of Pope *Joan*.

That I may not omit any material Objection that the Romanists alledge to disprove the verity of the Story of Pope *Joan*, I must here inform the Reader, that as they say many learned *Latin* Writers say nothing of her, so *Greek* Historiographers, *Zonaras*, *Cedrenus* *Caropalatas*, and others who wrote before *Martinus Polonus*, concerning the *Latin* Church, and were Enemies to the

* In *Hen.* 3. page 1089.

† In *Hen.* 3. page 1100.

the same, and would have been glad of such an Advantage against it; write nothing thereof at all; from whence some infer there was no such matter.

To shape an answer to this Argument, I must beg this Question, doth not *Platina* confess there was a Pope called *Mark*, who sat two Years eight Months and ten Days; and another Pope called *Marcellus*, who sat above five Years; and yet * *Pontacus*, and † *Genebrard* confess, that all the Greek Writers in a manner omit to speak of the former; and that all Greek Writers without Exception omit to speak of the latter. Now if we should be persuaded (notwithstanding their passing by these in Silence) that these were Popes, why may we not as well believe that there was a Pope *Joan*, though they pass her by in like manner, not speaking one word of her; we may believe many things of which they write not a Syllable. We read in the Golden Legend, ‡ *Breviary*, &c. that *Heraclius* the Emperor, when he would have entred in by the Gate, by which our Saviour went to his Passion, clad in his Royal Robes with the Cross on his Shoulders, was miraculously hindred and could not get through, till he had divested his Body of it's Princely Apparel, and put off his Shoes and Stockings. This is verily believed by many Romanists, and yet *Gretzar* saith, that the Grecians, *Zenoras*, *Cedrenus*, and the like, write nothing of it, yet professeth withall he likes it never the worse for their Silence; for they (as he farther observes) omitted many other material Truths, whereof no Man of reason will ever call them in Question; and though *Hermannus Contra-*

tractus,

* Lib. 2. Chronogr. † Chronol. lib. 3. ‡ Breviar. Rom. in officio exalt. S. Crucis.

tractus, *Conradus*, *Urspergensis Abbas*, and others, speak nothing of this *Joan*, we must not therefore conclude that there was never such a Woman once a Pope. Do Arguments taken from Authority of few Men hold negatively? It is a good Argument, *St Paul*, *St Luke*, and *Seneca* do not say that *St Peter* was at *Rome*? Ergo, *St Peter* was not at *Rome*. I answer with * *Bellarmin*, *Negative Arguments are worth nothing*; for it follows not that *St Peter* was never at *Rome*, because *St Luke*, *St Paul*, and *Seneca* do not report that he was ever there: for these three were not bound to report all that was true. Certainly (saith one) *magis credi debet tribus testibus affirmantibus quam infinitis nihil dicentibus*: 'A Man should rather believe three Witnesses speaking to a Cause, than infinite who speak neither *pro* nor *con*.' Again, *Denis* Bishop of *Athens*, was afterwards Bishop of *Paris*, though *Ado* Bishop of *Triers* in *Germany*, and *Suidas*, a *Greek* Author, make no mention of his removal to another Bishoprick: *Lipomannus* resolves upon *Metaphrastes*, and one *Michael Syngelus*, in these Words, that *Denis* was Bishop of *Paris*, though *Ado* and *Suidas*, say nothing of it. Why then though these and many more say nothing of Pope *Joan*, might there not be such a Pope, since as many, and as learned as they, do place her in the number of Popes. * *Salmeron* a learned Jesuit saith thus, *Ea lex apud Historiographos observatur, ut quando unis ex duobus historicis aliquid affirmat quod alius supprimit, non derogat affirmanti qui racet*: 'That when one Historian reports what another passeth by, the latter's Silence doth not prejudice the Truth of the other's relation.'

I must

* *Lib. de Rom. pontif. cap. 8. † Proligom. 6 in Evangelia.*

I must confess there is not a Word of her in all those six or seven Tables which are in the *Vatican*; yet suppose these Tables be of greatest Estimation, yet shall we conclude that he that is as Pope registred therein was a Pope; I know not how safely we may believe it, since *Baronius* condemns such for silly credulous People, who believe Reports the rather because they are to be found in Books belonging to the Pope's Library. Besides, *Leo* the VIIIth is registred in the Catalogue of Popes, and in some of those seven Tables, if not in them all, yet † *Baronius*, and his Followers conclude him an Intruder and Usurper, and did not in the least deserve that glorious Title of a Pope. Now if this be no good Argument, *Leo* the VIIIth is numbred among the Popes in seven Tables, in the Pope's Library, or in seven as Authentical, *Ergo* *Leo* the VIIIth was a Pope, from hence may be said, that *Joan* the Woman Pope is not numbred amongst the Popes in those seven Tables in the Popes Library. *Ergo* there was no such *Joan*, a Woman Pope. But consider if seven Tables speaking for a Pope, do not convince the being of such a Pope, why should their Silence argue the contrary? might there not be as well, one left out that was a Pope, as *comemorize* one that never was? Besides, there are several reasons why it was requisite she should be left out, either for her Sex sake, being a Woman, and very fallacious, or else she would never have rambled over several Countries with a Man, who undoubtedly in their Travels lay together; or else in regard of the foulness of the Fact, which as it brands her Memory with perpetual Infamy, so it cannot

† Annalium. tom. 10: ad annum. 964.

cannot but prove a great Blot in the Papal Escutcheon.

This omission of her Name need not seem strange, if you will but observe, that other Popes upon other occasions, have been past over in Silence by several Writers as no Popes; as for Example, *Felix* the II^d, was both Pope and Martyr, (as * *Bellarmin* affirmeth) and he sat as Pope one Year, four Months, and two Days, as you may read in † *Platina*: yet by ‡ *Genebrard's* Confession, *Marcellinus* omits to speak of him in his Chronicle, because he was suspected of Heresy; and for the same, or such like Cause, St *Austin* and *Optatus* mention him not among the Popes in their Memorials. That one *Cyricus* was Pope is acknowledged by divers, yet it is rare to find him in any Catalogue of Popes of whom *Johannes de Paris*, a great Papist, in his Treatise, *de potestate regia & papali*, writes thus, *Iste Cyriacus in Catalogo Paparum non annumeratur, quia credebant ipsum non propter devotionem sed propter oblectamentum Virginum dimisisse Episcopatum.* 'Cyriacus is not in the Catalogue of Popes, because it was thought he left the Poppedom not for Devotion, but for the sake of Wenching.' *Damascus* the II^d, hath his Name registred in many * Popish Chronicles in the Throng of Popes; yet there are † many on the other side who let him go for a scabby Sheep. Thus *Platina*, censent nonnulli hunc inter Pontifices nequaquam numerandum esse; 'some judge this Fellow no ways fit to be registred among the Popes;' and in like manner they deal with many others.

But

* Lib. 4. de Roman. Pontif. cap. 9. † *Invita Felicis.* ‡ Chronol. lib. 3. ad annum. 368. * *Platina* in vita *Damasi* 2. *Polonus* in Chronic. circa an. 1040. † *Platina* loco citao.

But * some may say if Pope *Joan* was omitted in the Registers of some for the filthiness of her Fact, why was that Close-stool reserved, and that Monument of hers erected where she was publicly delivered ; for the Stool and the Image were as like to continue the Memory of her, as any Record in writing. To this I answer, may not some be of one Opinion, some of another ? May not some think good to continue the Memory of that which others for Shame would willingly have forgotten ? Have not some Papists in *France* denied that *John Chastel* was taught by the Jesuits to murder *Henry* the IVth of *France*, because they were loath the Jesuits should seem Odious ? And did not others contribute their Assistance in the Erection of a stony Pillar near the King's Palace, whereby so much was notified. If any Man should affirm that the same Man who omitted Pope *Joan* for the filthiness of her Fact, erected such two Monuments for her in one of the High-streets in *Rome*, and proscribed such a Stool to be kept for that Purpose, I know not how he could free himself from Contradiction.

For further Proof whereof I think this worth the Consideration, that when *Paul* the IIIrd moved with the Spirit of God (as † *Harding* saith) and desirous to reform the Church, gave charge to the most learned, wise, pious, and zealous Men he knew, viz. four Cardinals, three Bishops, and two others, to enquire and search out what Abuses and Disorders were in the Church, and especially in the *Roman* Court ; which they did accordingly, and presented him a Libel containing the Sum of all their Proceedings. Some

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thought

* Florimondus Cap. 22. page 190. † In his Rejoinder to Bishop *Jewel* about the Mass. page 177.

thought their Labours merited Registring; others thought them fitter to be committed to the Fire, which appears by this, that the Libel is printed in *Crabbs* Edition of the Council, anno 1551, and yet inserted in the *Index librorum prohibitorum* by *Paul* the IVth, (one of those four Cardinals that exhibited it to *Paul* the IIIId) and left out *Dominicus Nicolinus*, his Edition of the Councils at *Venice*, auspiciis *Sixti Quinti*, in the Year 1585. And out of *Severinus Binnius*, his Edition at *Co-len* 1606.

* But say the Papists again, grant that Pope *Joan* should be omitted for the filthiness of her Fact, yet should there have been mention made of the Vacancy of the See for that time she was Pope, else there will be a manifest Error in Chronology.

A foul Error indeed to miss two Years in reckoning; there may be fouler than this, and yet the matter salved well enough. For *Onupbrius* reckons 230 Popes to *Gregory* the XIIIth, and *Genebrard* and *Massonus* 234, whereas *Platina* accounts 235; for he reckons to *Zistus* the IVth, with whom he ends, 221 Popes: after whom to *Gregory* the XIIIth, every one reckons 14, which compleats the number of 235: yet *Versteganus*, in his Table printed at *Antwerp* 1590, numbers no more than 231. Moreover do not several Chronologies written by † Romanists record, that *Evaristus* sat thirteen Years, whereas others say, he sat but ‡ nine Years; do not ** some of them say that *Denis* sat four Years, †† others that he sat but two Years

* *Bella*. lib. 3. de Rom. Pont. cap. 24. † *Anastas*. de Vita *Evarist*. ‡ *Baron*. Anal. tom. 2. ad annum 121. Num. 1. ** *Baron*. Annal. tom. 2. ad Anno 172. Num. 21. †† *Anastas*. de vita *Dionysii*.

Years. I think these Differences, and such as these, argue manifest Errors in their Chronologies. If no further Inconveniencies follow upon Pope *Joan's* omission, than a manifest Error in Chronology, for that space she lived, we may well enough believe that some omitted her, not because there was no such Person, but because they were ashamed of her; for two Years and odd Months break no square in their Chronologies, no more than a Mistake of two Inches in a Foot with a bungling Carpenter.

But, says Florimondus, no Man ever writ of her, till four hundred Years after her death; and is it possible that all Writers should so conspire together, that the Truth thereof could never be certainly known, till so long a time after the Expiration of her Popeship?

I have already proved by the Books that are yet extant, that this Story was sooner discovered. But suppose we had no Author who lived within four hundred Years of Pope *Joan* to produce for Proof, must therefore this Story be rejected? Do not the Papists recommend as truth, many Stories for which they can bring no Testimony out of any Writer who lived within four hundred Years after? * They tell us of an Image of Christ which was made by *Nicodemus*, who came to our Saviour by Night for fear of the *Jews*; and of it runs a report of strange Miracles it effects: yet are not able to name the Man who wrote of this six hundred Years after *Nicodemus*. † They tell us that St *Luke* drew certain Pictures of the Virgin *Mary*, but ‡ *Theodorus Lector* is the first Man that makes this report, and he lived at least five

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hundred

* Bell. lib. 2. de Image cap. 10. † Bel. loco citato & Gretzer de Cruce. lib. 2. cap. 1. ‡ Lib. 1. Collostan.

44 *The LIFE and DEATH*

hundred Years after. Not to trouble you with many more Instances, * they write, that our Saviour wiping his Face with a Handkerchief, imprinted his own Effigies therein, and sent it to *Agbarus* for a token; but for Proof hereof, there is no Author to be produced, but one † *Evagrius* who lived six hundred Years after Christ. That the Virgin *Mary* made that Coat of our Saviour's which was without Seam, the ‡ *Rhemists* peremptorily affirm, and * others of the like Faction add, that as our Saviour grew in Height and Breadth, so the Coat on his Back grew in like manner. I cannot read any Author they have produced, that writeth hereof for above four hundred Years since.

But how comes it about that Pope Joan should be called John, as she was supposed a Man after her Election, since Popes upon their Election do now change their Names from a laudible Custom (saith Florimondus) that Sergius (a few Years before Pope Joan) introduced, which was that the Pope elect should not step out of the Conclave till he had changed his proper Name.

It is confest, that † some say, that because *Sergius* had a filthy beastly Name before his Election, viz. *Swines-snout*, he changed it after his Election; but they are mistaken who say *Sergius* the II^d changed his proper Name, for *ex paterno nomine a principio Sergius est appellatus*; from his Birth he was called *Sergius*, after the Name of his Father; so writes *Baronius* in his *Annals*

* Baron Anwal Tom. 1. ad An Christi. 31. Num. 61.
† Baron. Annal. Tom. 8. ad An. 594. Num. 30. ‡ Annotat. in *John* 19. 23 in Margine. * Ludolphus de vita Jesu. part 2. cap. 63. p. 221. Coloss. 2. † Fascic. Temp. ad An. 844. Pol. Virg. de Rerum Invent. Stella de vitis Pont. in Sergio. 2.

Annals Tome the tenth, to the Year 844. The first who changed his Name was *Sergius* the III^d, and yet not for the filthiness of his Name, but in reverence to St *Peter*. *Cum enim ille Petrus vocaretur indignum se putavit vocari eodem nomine, quo Christus primum ejus sedis Pontificem Principem Apostolorum ex Simone Petrum nominaverat: — For his Name being Peter, he thought it not fit to be called by that Name, whereby Christ called the first Bishop of that See, even the Prince of the Apostles, whose name he changed from Simon to Peter, as may be further read in that learned Cardinal Caesar Baronius. Notwithstanding this positive Assertion of Baronius, I see this great Scholar, as well as other Bug-bears of Wit and Controversy, may not only mistake, but down right contradict themselves; for (saith he) in another Place, Tom. 10. *Annal. ad Ann. 955. Nu. 4.* speaking of John the XIIth. *Hic revera primus inventus qui mutavit sibi nomen, ut qui ex Octaviano vocari voluerit Johannes pro mutata non exuta tyrannide:* ‘ This, in truth is the first who changed his name, who of *Octavian* would needs be called *John*; not that he meant to leave his Tyranny, but to use it in another kind; for he, who was called by his Father *Octavian*, in respect of his temporal Authority in the City, would now in respect of his Spiritual, be called *John*; either because his Uncle *John* the XIth was called so, or for that he desired to hear well at least for his Name sake, whilst in clawing, and fawning Acclamations, the People basely applied unto him that good Speech, *There was a Man that was sent from God whose name was John.*’ Thus *Baronius*, and now *Florimondus*, not knowing almost what to say, ask the Question, *who was*
Pope*

Pope Joan's Father, quinam bujus Pseudopontificis pater; if she had a Father, certainly he would have been mentioned in History, as well as the Father of *Linus, Clerus, Clemens*, and of all the rest of the Popes; in answer hereunto, that the Histories expressly set down the Fathers of all the rest of the Popes is false. For by History no Man knows of what Parentage * *Higinus* was; *Higini genealogia non invenitur*, neither can we find out the Ancestors of *Pope Denis*; as *Anastasius*, afore quoted, doth acknowledge; *Dionisi generationem inventre non potuimus*: And it is unknown of what Sir-name or Country *John* the XIXth was: † *Johannis XIX, cognomen & patria ignoratur*.

In Histories it is expressly written, that *Urban* the IVth was begotten by a Cobler, † *ex patre Sutore veteramentario*; that *John* the XXIIId, was the Son of a Botcher, * *Filius Veteramentarii, resarcitoris scilicet sotelarium*: That *Benedict* the XIth, was the Son of a poor Laundress; † *Filius Lotricis pauperculae*: That *Benedict* the XIIth, was the Son of a Milner, *Molitoris filius*: That *Sixtus* the IVth, was the Son of a Mariner, † *patre ortus qui semper nauticam exercuit*: That *Adrian* the VIth, was the Son of a Cloath-worker, or as some say a Brewer: That * *Sixtus Quintus*, was the Son of a Swine-heard, but what the names of these Mens Fathers were, that is not expressly written. † *Alexander* the Vth confessed, *Se nec parentis, nec fratres, nec aliquem ex agnatis*,

* *Anastas. de vit. Pont. in vita Higini.* † *Stella de vitis Pont. in vita Joh. 19.* † *Onuph. Annot. in Plat. in vitis Urbani. 4.* * *Longius in Chron. ad An. 1316.* † *Ibid.* † *Pap. Mass. de urbis Episcop. lib. 6. in Sixto 4.* * *Caccarellus in Vita 65.* † *Pap. Mass. de Urbis Epif. lib. 6. in Alex. 5.*

agnatis, cognatisque suis unquam vidisse : That he never saw either his Father, or Mother, or Brother, or any of his Kindred ; who then can tell his Father's name ?

Beating some of the Romanists from this idle Interrogatory, they fly to this ; either this Pope *Joan* was young or old when she was chosen. If she was young, it was contrary to Custom to admit of any such Election ; as may appear by the great number of Popes that lived in the Dignity above the number of Emperors that succeeded often in their Youth. But if she were old when she was chosen, then how did she bear a Child publicly in Procession ? The ground work of this Argument, that Pope *Joan* was either young or old, may be easily destroyed thus ; if we consider that learned Men divide the whole Course of Man's life not into youth and old age ; but into *Pueritiam pubertatem ; adolescentiam, juventutem constantem mediumve & senectutem*. Now middle Age is from 35 to 49, whereof she might have been, and so neither old nor young ; for *Leo* the Xth was chosen Pope at thirty eight Years of age, being not forty six Years old when he died, and yet he sat as Pope eight Years, eight Months, and twenty Days ; and *Gregory* the XIth was about thirty five Years old when he was chosen, as * *Theodoricus de Niem*, and *Massonius* testify, besides, she might have been chosen young for any Popish Custom there is to the contrary. For † *Boniface* the IXth, at the age of thirty four was chosen Pope ; and *Innocent* the IIIrd was but thirty. I know not but our *Joan* might have been one of the Youths of the Parish : For not

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* *Niem Unionis Tract. 6. cap. 39.* † *Masson. de Urbis Episcop. in Boniface 9.*

48 *The LIFE and DEATH*

to speak of the Boy Pope * *Benedict* the IXth, who was chosen Pope about twelve Years old, one, who at that age better understood a Gig and Bowling-stones, than the Discipline of the Church. I say not to reflect on him particularly, † *John XIII* alias *XII*, *In juvenili & florida ætate creatur Pontifex*, he was constituted Pope when he was in his Youth and flourishing Condition; that is about the eighteenth Year of his age, as ‡ *Baronius* gathereth by Circumstances.

But why might she not have been old, since we read, and have known experimentally that old Women have born Children. *Henry* the Emperor begat *Frederick* the II, on a Wife who was fifty Years old, so saith *Massonus*, and *Machutus* the Bishop (saith *Petrus de Natalibus*) was born when his Mother was above threescore: And saith *Franciscus Junius* in his Annotations on *Ruth*, *Hic in Palatinatu ante annos aliquot vidi meis oculis & vocatus interfui partus cujusdem femine amplius annos 56 natæ, quæ binos mores enixa est eodem partu*: A few Years since I was intreated to see a Woman above fifty nine Years old, who was delivered of two Boys at a Birth; why may not then Pope *Joan* (though fifty) be delivered of a Son.

Again let us consider, that the Multitude of Popes above the Emperors was not by reason of their age, but by other Accidents. In the first three hundred Years while the Popes were generally good, they were cut off by Martyrdom, for though it be not true (as *Onuphrius* very well observes) that all the Popes from *St Peter's* time to *Sylvester*,

* *Glab. Radul. Hist. lib. 5.* † *Paulus Langius in Chron. Citizense ad An. 1389.* ‡ *Annal. Tom. 10. ad anno 955: Num. 3.*

Sylvester, were *Martyrs* (which is confidently avouched by some of the Romish Party) yet I grant it for a truth, that most of them were so. Now in succeeding times their number grew the greater by their Poisoning and Murdering one another. Diligently peruse the History of their Lives, and you shall find that of forty Popes deceased, there was not one sat a full Year. * You will find that in a little more than nine Years, there were nine several Popes: You shall find that one Man in thirteen Years, poisoned six Popes: *Lastly*, you shall find, that God in his Justice did cut them off for their wicked and abominable lewd Lives and Conversations.

Liberius sat about six Years, saith Cardinal † *Turrecrémata*, and then died an evil Death, *mala morte precibus Sanctorum extinctus est*; he died not for Age, but with Cursing.

Anastasius the IId sat not two Years, but God struck him suddainly for his Wickedness, and he died miserably: For he died as some say, as *Arius* the Arch-Heretic, of which Opinion is † *Platina* and * *Stella*, who say, *Sunt qui scribunt eum in Latrinam effudisse intestina dum necessitati naturæ obtemperat*: In a House-of-Office he evacuated his Guts with his Excrements.

Clement the IId continued in the Papacy but nine Months, and died not of old Age, but Poison; so says *Genebrard* and *Aeneas Sylvius*.

Damascus the IId, who had a Hand in poisoning this *Clement*, kept the Popedom but twenty three Days, not that he died of old Age, but by the just Judgment of God, that he might be an

H

Example

* Fascic. Temp. ad an. 904. † Sum. de Eccles. lib. 4. part 1. c. 9. † *Platina* in vita *Anastasio* 2. * *Stella* de Vit. Pont. ad annum 498.

50 *The LIFE and DEATH*

Example to others, (as *Platina* observes) who climb'd to that Dignity by unjust and indirect means, to which they should ascend by Virtue and true Merit.

Benedict the VIth lived Pope no longer than a Year and half, and then died in a Goal by strangling or famine, as * *Baronius* is of Opinion.

Victor the IIIrd was no longer Pope but one Year and four Months, and died by Poison; so says *Platina*, *Genebrard*, *Charanza*, and *Polonus*; by the same means (as is supposed) died *Pius* the IIIrd.

John the XIIIth, (alias XII) was slain the very act of Adultery, whether thrust through by one that saw him in that beastly Posture, (as *Platina* believes) or murdered by the Devil (as *Luitprandus* imagines) Historians agree not in; but * *Turrecremata* a Cardinal, takes that as more likely, that is most dreadful: for because (saith he) the Life of Pope *John* was detestable, and intolerably offensive to the Christian People; therefore Christ himself pronounced against him Sentence of Condemnation: For, whilst he was abusing and vitiating a certain Man's Wife, the Devil struck him suddainly into the Temple of his Head, and he died as suddainly without Repentance.

Boniface the VIIth sat but seven Months and a few Days, and then the Beast died, saith † *Krantius*.

Marcellus the IIrd lived but twenty two Days in the Papacy, not that he was very aged when he died (for he was but fifty five Years old) but for that he was Poisoned, and which is strange, it is observed, that he was Poisoned because some thought

* *Annal. Tom. 10. ad anno 974.* † *Turrecremata sum. de Ecclesi. lib. 2. cap. 103.* ‡ *Metrop. lib. 5. cap. 1.*

thought he would prove an honest Pope. *Obiit die 22, non sine veneni suspitione, quod nimium rectius quibusdam videretur, saith * Genebrard.*

That *Sixtus Quintus*, after the sixth Year of his Reign, was fetcht away by the Devil, by whose help he came to that Place, † Sir *Francis Breton*, a Monk of the Order of the *Celestines*, protested that a Prior of *St Bennet's* Order, assured him at *Rome* and the Jesuits at *Italy* seem to believe no less by their own reports. To conclude, it is the Confession of many Pontifical Writers, that many Popes were short liv'd, because God saw they proved Monsters instead of Pious Men, and became a Shame and Scandal to the true Religion; wherefore God in his Justice snatcht them off from the Face of the Earth. Thus this Argument of Years hath its answer.

Another Objection they alledged, that it is a most unlikely thing that the whole Roman Clergy would chuse a Pope without a Beard, especially if all the Clergy in those Days, (as some write) were shaven. For Men by shaving may make themselves look like Women, and Women by often shaving may make themselves look like Men. † *Johannes Pierius Valerianus* a learned Man, imputes the Error of the choice of Pope *Joan* to this, that the Clergy in those Days were generally shaven; for by the means of shaving (saith he) the People were so disguised, that Men and Women were in a manner undistinguishable, and by this it happened that a Woman was chosen Pope of *Rome* to the perpetual Shame, and Infamy of that sacred Dignity; of the same

H 2

Opinion

* Chron. lib. 4. ad annum 1555. † In his Declarat. made at *Vendome*, Jan. 28. 1601 ‡ Pro barbis Sacerdotum, fol. 21. ad Card. Mediceu, Lon. Anno 1533.

Opinion is * *Chalchocondilas*. Thus then since it was an ordinary thing for the Clergy to be shaven, why should they dislike her the more for want of a Beard.

But some may say, that this is very strange, that in all that time; neither Voice, Countenance, nor Actions should not discover her. To this I answer, that if there be truth in Popish Writers, divers Women have lived longer among Men in Mens Apparel unknown, than Dame *Joan* lived in the Popedom. For *Marina* (as † *Textor* reports) lived all her life among *Monks* in a Masculine Habit, and none knew any thing to the contrary but that she was a *Monk*. ‡ *Euphrosina* lived thirty six Years among *Monks*, and was reputed for a *Monk*; so did *Eugenia*, *Pelagia*, and *Margareta*, and their Sex the while was unsuspected. In our late Civil Wars, I knew a Woman that was sixteen Years a Soldier, at length being tired with that starving kind of Life, returned to her Relations, and reassuming her pristine proper Habiliments, was in a little time married, and had several Children afterwards.

The Romanists, to make this Story the more fabulous and improbable, do say, that certainly this Woman Pope (had there been any such Person) would not have been guilty of so much indiscretion, (especially having the repute of so much Wit and Scholarship) as to go abroad in publick, being so near her time, and venture to go in Procession, where she must consequently have the Eyes of many Thousands fixt upon her, whereby, if no other Accident should happen, she

* Lib. 6. de Rebus Turcicis. † Text. in Officina Tit. Mul. hab. viril, ment. ‡ Pet. de Natal. in Catalog. sanc. lib. 2. cap. 3.

she runs the Hazard of a Discovery. To this I answer, that the time of Child-birth is uncertain, for commonly Women go ten Months, yet sometimes they come sooner, at nine, eight, yea, and at seven Months, as * Physicians have observed. Honefter Women than Pope *Joan* have fallen in Travail upon the Highway, nay in the Street; their unexpected Pangs have come so fast upon them, that they have been forced to take Sanctuary at the next House they could come at, and made bold with a Stranger in a mean Habitation, rather than be delivered in the Street; suitable to this is an Observation of *Theophilaet*, *novit mulier quod pariet, quando vero non novit; nam non paucæ 8 mense pepererunt, etiam in itinere, nihil præscientes*; (says he) a Woman knows she shall be delivered, but the time when, she knows not; for divers have been delivered in their eighth Month, as they have been on a Journey, not imagining they were so near their Reckoning. Thus may this poor Gentlewoman Pope *Joan* be mistaken, and the rather, because this was her first that she was deliver'd of, as she went to St *John Laterans*, for we do not read, that she had a Bastard before she was Pope, not, but that we may believe it upon good Grounds, that her fellow Traveller or Gallant, was not wanting in his Endeavours to give her that carnal Satisfaction she desired; and it may be she proved upon it too, but had an Art, which the Devil taught her, to carry it off again by Medecine, a practice of late too much used by some insatiate *Mesalinas* of this Kingdom; whether she used it or not, we know no other Proof but bare Conjecture, but certain it

* Levin. Lemnius de occult. Nat. miraculis lib. 4. cap. 22 and 23.

it is, she was delivered of a Son in the open Street, and both expired immediately thereupon, who were buried together without any Solemnity, and though she had born the greatest Offices belonging to the Romish Church, yet she was inter'd without the common Ceremonies of Burial.

The sacred Scriptures do inform us, that God in his Justice doth use to serve the greatest Princes so, who dishonour him. Do we not read that *Jeboiachim* King of *Judah*, was to be buried as an Ass was buried, &c. *Jerem.* 22. 18, 19. and we read in History, that many Popes have had as small Solemnities. *Boniface* the VIIth, (saith * *Baronius*) who sat after *John* the XVth, in four Months died a suddain Death, and was so hateful to his own Followers, that after his Death they showed their Detestation of him, by revenging themselves with Blows on his senseless Carcass, whilst others with Swords ran him through and through; after this they dragged him by the Feet stark naked, till they came to the Field which is near the place where *Constantine's* Horse stands, there they threw him from them, and so left him. *Debora*, *Rebecca's* Nurse, was buried under an Oak, and *Rachel*, *Jacobs* Wife, (a far honestest Woman than Pope *Joan*) was buried in the way to *Ephrath*. This Woman Pope could not have a Burial too bad for her; a Fact so extraordinary, deserved an extraordinary Usage, wherefore *Papyrius Massonus* questions the truth of his Story, because she was not shamefull enough handled; for (saith he) had there been any such Pope, the Romans could have done no less in Equity, than after her Death, to have hanged her

* *Annal. Tom. 10. ad An. 985. è veteri Pontif. vaticano codice.*

her up in Chains. But how comes it about, if she was delivered of a Boy, that she died instantly? *Florimondus* accounts this, as one of the Absurdities which attend this Fable, *Masculum pepererat* (saith he) *quid igitur mortem repentinam attulit*? If a Woman be once delivered of the Fruit of her Womb, there is no Danger of Death in his Opinion. In the first place, she did not die instantly, though suddainly, for she was delivered of a Boy before her death; in the next place, I would fain know whether it is not common for Women to die in Child-bed, as well as in Child-birth. *Rachael* was delivered of her Son *Benjamin*, and yet died shortly after, *Gen.* 35. 17, 18. *Phineas's* Wife was deliver'd of her Son *Ichobod*, and yet died presently after. And if they died so, why not Pope *Joan*.

But can she be said to have gone from the Palace of *St Peter* to *St John Lateran*, whereas the Popes laid not then in the *Vatican*, but at *St John Lateran* it self, this * *Bellarmin*, and others do object; and *Platina* (says some) doth justify, that the Popes lay not in the *Vatican* till the Year 1350, which was in the time of *Boniface* the IXth.

This is a great mistake, for *Boniface* the IXth lived in the Year 1390, not 1350, the like mistake there is in fathering such a Fancy upon † *Platina*. For *Platina* reports only, that the *Vatican* was repair'd by *Boniface* the IXth; he saith not it was first Inhabited by him, though if he had, the Pope might have gone to see the *Lateran*; for he had more than one House to solace himself, and accommodate his Retinue in besides the

* *Bellar.* de Rom. Pontif. cap. 24. † In Vita *Boniface*.

the *Lateran*. He dwelt not always in that; for *Gregory* the IVth*, built two stately Fabricks for the Pope's use, as *Anastafius* testifies; and *Leo* the IIIId, (as you may read in the same Author) built another no less glorious, near to *St Peter's* Church, which stands in the *Vatican*, wherein *Leo* the IVth gave Entertainment to *Ludovike* the Emperor. Besides, History doth not mention that she went from *St Peters* Palace to the Palace of the *Late-ran*, but from *St Peters* Church to the *Lateran* Church, and yet dwell in the Palace by the *Late-ran*; for Popes begin not their Procession from the next Church adjoining to them. † *Leo* the IIIId appointed to go in Procession three several Days before *Ascension-Day*; and he began the first Day at one of *St Mary's* Churches, and ended at *St Saviour's* Church; the second Day he began at *St Sabina* the Martyr's Church, and ended at *St Paul's*; and the third Day he began at *St Crosses* Church in *Jerusalem*, and ended at *St Laurence's* without the Walls; so that this Objection I conceive is fully answered, and I shall endeavour to do the like to several others; and first, the Romanists do cavil much about her different names before her Papacy; some say she was called *Agnes*, some *Gilbert*, some *Isabel*, some *Margaret*, some *Tutta*, some *Jutta*, and others *Dorothie*.

This is a meer Forgery, for I cannot read in any antient Writers, that she was called by any of these Names; in some of later time I find some difference, one calling her *Gilbert*, and another *Agnes*, but of all those whom I have here inserted, to assert the truth, and give in Evidence against her, there is not above one or two, who
either

* De vitis Pontif. in vita *Gregorii*. † *Platina* in vita *Leonis*.

either before or after her Papacy, gives her any other Name than *Joan*.

Secondly, They say, that some of these Authors I have alledged to vindicate this Truth, do clash and differ in Opinion, some calling her *John* the VIIth, some *John* the VIIIth, and others *John* the IXth, and so saith *Baronius*.

Baronius, by his leave, quotes no Author for his Assertion, and therefore I must beg his Pardon if I believe him not; for my belief shall extend in this no farther than reason shall direct it. Besides, whether she be *John* the VIIth or VIIIth, the Difference is not so great, for the like may be demonstrated in other Popes, whom the Romish Party cannot deny to be Popes. But who stiles her *John* the VIIth, or *John* the VIIIth assuredly, neither *Marianus*, *Scotus*, *Sigibert*, *Gotefridus*, *Viterbiensis*, *Polonus*, *Platina*, *Palmerius*, *Trithemius*, *Fasciculus Temporum*, *Krantius*, *Alfonsus à Caribagena*, nor *Textor*, call her neither *John* the VIIth, nor *John* the VIIIth, but plainly *John* or *Joan*. *Onuphrius* indeed would persuade the Credulous that *Platina* stiles her *John* the VIIIth, in the Terms; *Johannes hic omnino VIIIth, non IXth, est ut à Platina describitur: Nam & si Johannes sœmina Papa quam profitetur, fuisset, non tamen numeri natam habere debuisset sacri ordinis non capax*; that is, this *John* questionless is the eighth, not the ninth, as *Platina* accounts him; for though *John* the Woman, whom he talks of, had been Pope, yet seeing she was not capable of Priest-hood, she should not go for one in the Number of *Johns*.

This is another falsity, for *Platina* calls her not *John* the VIIIth, and therefore *Onuphrius*, or some Person else, hath abused him: For Proof

I

whereof,

whereof, I appeal to * *Platina*, printed in the Year 1481, which was the Year wherein *Platina* died, and to the next Edition 1481, who speaking of *John* the Woman in those antient Editions, he places no Numeral Note on her Head, but begins his Story thus, *Johannes Anglicus ex Maguntiaco oriundus*, &c. *John* English born at *Mentz*, neither Stiles he the next 9, but 8; for coming to that Pope's Life, *Johannes VIII, Patria Romanus*, &c. saith he, *John* the VIIIth, by his Country a Roman, &c. for further Proof of which later Point, I appeal to the later Editions, whereunto *Onuphrius* † his Annotations are annexed; for though we read thus in them, *Johannes nonus Patria Romanus*, &c. yet that reading is false, and the antient reading true, appears by that which is written of the next Pope's Life, to wit, *Martin* the IIId, even in those later Editions. For ‡ *Platina* showing how *Martin* lived in the time of *Charles* the IIIId, adds presently, *Quem ab Johanne VIII, Coronem accepisse scripsimus*. Now *Charles* the IIIId was crowned by *John* next before *Martin*, according to *Platina*, wherefore the next before *Martin* was *John* the VIIIth, according to the Opinion of the same Man, and not *John* the IXth, as *Onuphrius* would have us believe. Which Oversight or Fraud of *Onuphrius* was not so great, but that by this means he is forced to alter *Platina* his numeral Note, set to all the *Johns* that follow to call him *John* the Xth, whom *Platina* calls *John* the IXth; to call him the XIth, whom *Platina* calls the Xth, and so unto the last *Baldesar Cossa*, who was in the number of *Johns* according to

* *Platina* moritur Romæ, Anno 1481. Trithem. de Script. Ecclesiast. verbo *Bartolomæi*. † Such as that of *Colen*. 1574. ‡ De vitis Pontif. in vita *Martini*.

ancient Editions the XXIII, and not XXIV, as he is numbered in the Editions which *Onuphrius* comments upon.

Now, whereas the Romanists do alledge that the disagreeing of Authors about the time wherein she commenced her Papacy, and the time of her Continuance therein, is an Argument to prove the nullity of this Story, I say no such matter: in the first place, let them consider the disagreement that is among themselves. Some that have written of Pope *Lucius*, say he was a * *Roman*, some a † *Tuscan*, some say he was the † Son of *Lucinus*, and others of ** *Porphyry*. Some say he was chosen Pope in the Year 253, some 254, some 259, and others 275. Some say he sat 3 Years, 3 Months, and 3 Days; some 3 Years, and 5 Months; and some 3 Years, 7 Months, and 6 Days, which you may find in the Authors quoted in the Margin, and yet no Man denies that *Lucius* was Pope.

Again, do we not read the same difference in the Reign of *Sergius* the III^d; some will have it begin in †† 905, others in †† 907, &c. some write that he succeeded *** *Benedict* the IVth, others that he followed ††† *Formosus*, others ††† *Christopher*, &c. yet, whoever denied that there was such a Pope.

We read that the Carcass of *Formosus* * was taken up out of his Grave by one of his Successors, and brought into Judgment before a Council of Bishops, and that it was devested of its Papal Robes,

* *Platina in vita Lucii.* † *Anastasi in vita Lucii.* † *Idem.* *ibid.* ** *Plat. & Onuph. loco citato.* †† *Mat. West. Flores Hist. ad ann. 905.* †† *Polon. in Chron. ad an. 907.* *** *Herm. contractus circa an. 907.* ††† *Luitprandi Cron.* ††† *Barron. Annal.* * *Baron. An. Tom. 10. ad an. 897.*

Robes; and clad with a Lay-man's Garment, that it was indicted, arraigned, and condemned: but among those that report this, there is a great disagreement. For some say it was taken up by *Sergius* the IIIId, some by *Steven* the VIIIth, some say it had two Fingers cut off, some three; some say the Head was chopt off, and some deny it; some say the Trunk was thrown into *Tyber*, and some say it had Lay-mans Buriall: and yet who of the Romanists will deny the truth of this Story, by reason of these differences. *Onuphrius* denies it Point blank, saying *Quæ de Formosi cadavere ex Sepultura à successoribus eruto dicuntur; proculdubio fabulæ magis quàm verò similia sunt, quod illorum qui de ea re scripserunt diversitate & repugnantia facile liquet.* The report which goes concerning the digging up *Formosus's* Body out of his Grave by some of his Successors, are questionless fabulous and not true, which is apparent by the disagreement, and disconveniencies which are to be found among them who write of it. Notwithstanding the manifold differences in Circumstances, *Baronius* durst not cast it off, as *Onuphrius*. For he ingenuously confesseth, it was such a villainous Prank, as was never plaid before: * *Intentatum hætenus scelus*, and by reason of its barbarousness incredible; *præ sui immanitate omnibus incredibile*; yet he grants it true, and avows that they foully err, who deny what was done to the Carcass of *Formosus*, looking on the report no better than a Fable. † *Bellarmin* saith true in this, that *sæpissime accidit, ut constet de re & non constet de modo vel alia circumstantia*. It often happens, that Men are sure such a thing is done,

* *Annal. Tom. 10. ad an. 897. Num. 3.* † *Lib. 2. de Rom. Point. cap. 5.*

done, when yet they are not sure of the manner how it was done, or of some other like Circumstance. The difference among Writers about Circumstance doth not weaken any Man's Argument touching the Substance: if it do, I would have the Romanists for Shame blot out *St Ursula*, and her Fellow Holy-day out of their * Kalendar, and all the Prayers they make to them in their Primers, Portesses, and Breviaries; for there was never greater disagreement among the Relators of any Story, than among the Relators of that. Some say, that *Ursula* was the King of *Scotland's* Daughter; others say the King of *Cornwall's* Daughter; some say her Father was called *Maurus*, others *Dionethus*, or *Dionatus*, or *Dionicus*: the Husband she was to marry, some say, was King of *Little Britain*, and one calls him *Æthelricus*, another *Holofernes*, and a third *Conanus*. Now in her Company they say there were only 11000 Ladies and Gentlewomen, all Virgins, others say there were 60000 Country Maidens over and above; besides, there were divers Bishops, and Lords Temporal, who accompanied them; yea, *Cyriacus* the Pope of *Rome*, like a good Fellow, and a Trusty *Trojan*, left his Papacy, and followed these Pilgrims, as some say, though others deny it. For some say they went in Pilgrimage to *Rome*, though others do not hold that probable; some say they were martyred on the Seacoast; some say before the Gates of *Colen*. Lastly, some say that if any be Buried in *St Ursula's* Church, though they be Infants newly batized, the Ground will cast them up again; though others say that that a Tale of a Tub, and others say it is as damn'd a Lie as e'er was hatcht.

But

* Otober 21.

But to proceed, our Adversaries do say, that *Athens* was utterly destroyed at that time, when it was storied *John English*, afterwards Pope *Joan* travel'd thither, as a Trickery Mate with her learned Companion, to study Arts and Sciences. I utterly deny it, for *Paulus* * *Æmilius* writes, that *Goteфриdus* was made Duke of *Athens*, and Prince of *Achaia*, about the Year 1220, and afterwards that certain Pirates invading the Country of *Greece*, slew the Duke of *Athens*, who was of the House of *Brennas*, and took the City. In like manner we read in † *Mat. Paris*, that *Johannes de Basingstocks*, Arch-Deacon of *Legria*, who died in the Year 1252, studied at *Athens*, and that there he learned many things unknown to the Western Churches. Besides *Aeneas Sylvus*, who lived since that, doth justify that in his time *Athens* was not totally demolished, but carried the shew of a pretty Town. For *Civitas Atheniensis* (quoth he) *quondam nobilissima fuit*, &c. *eadem nostro tempore parvi oppidi speciem gerit*. So that the Exception aforesaid, doth no way prejudice the truth of this Story.

Having driven them from this poor Sconce, this slender shelter, I shall pursue them to another, which is grounded on what *C. Bellarmin* writes, *That there were no Schools for learning at that time, neither in Athens, nor any part of Græcia*, (saith he) † *Constat eo tempore neque Athenis neque usquam alibi in Græcia fuisse ulla Gymnasia literarum*. This he endeavours to prove, first by *Synefius*, who lived a little after *St Basil's* and *Nazianzen's* time, who * writ to his Brother that

* Lib. 8. † In *Hen. III.* ad an. 1252. page 1112.

† Lib. 3. de *Rom. Pontif.* cap. 24. * In *Epist. ult.* ad fratrem suum.

that *Athens* retained only the bare Name of an University. And secondly, he makes use of *Zonorus* and *Cedrenus* to back the former, who record, that in the sole Reign of *Michael* the Emperor, about the Year 856, *Bernardus Cæsar* restored Learning, *Cum usque ad illud tempus per annos plurimos ita fuissent extincta omnia studia sapientia in Græcia, ut ne vestigium quidem ullem extaret.*

And doth this import think you, that in *Synesius's* his Opinion there was no University at *Athens*: I am of the Opinion that *Synesius* meant thereby, that *Athens* was an University, though nothing near so famous and flourishing as heretofore, questionless when * *St Bernard* writ, that *Peter Abalard* had nothing of a Monk, but the Name, and the Cowl, his meaning was not that *Peter* was no Monk, but a sorry one. And I am the rather induced to understand the Words of *Synesius* to be so; because *Athens* in *St Basil's* time (about 40 Years before *Synesius*) was held the Mother of Learning, and in regard thereof called *Golden Athens* by *Greg. † Nazianzen*. For who could think in so few Years, Learning should quite be quenched, and that so famous an University should in so short a time be utterly decayed; but suppose there was no University in *Athens* in *Synesius's* his time; what is that to prove there was no University in *Pope Joan's* time at *Athens*, which was four hundred Years after? That University might revive, and get new Life in so many Years, as it did; for two Years after *Synesius* his time, *Boethius* went to Study at *Athens*,
teste

* *Bernardi* Epist. 193. † *Baron. Annal. Tom. 3. ad an* 354. † In *Monodia* in *Bas. Magni vitam.*

teste Baronio, adding further, that the Study of Philosophy was revived there in those Days.

As for *Cædrenus*, and *Zonorus*, *Bellarmin* wrongs them both in bringing them into witness, that there were no Schools in any part of *Græcia* in Pope *Joan's* time. For they say no more, but that Learning was not regarded a long time before *Bardus Cæsar*; they do not say that it was quite extinct, but almost: *Philosophia neglecta jacebat, ac probè omnino extincta erat, ut ne scintilla quidem ejus apparet*. *Bardus Cæsar* added Life to it by erecting Schools for all the Liberal Sciences, and appointing publick Professors, and giving them Stipends out of the Exchequer, as *Cædrenus* and *Zonoras* do write; but certainly he raised it not up simply to Life; for had it been stark dead, how could he so suddainly have gotten Professors to furnish his Schools? We may read in *Zonoras*, that at the same time there was a matchless Philosopher called *Leo*, who studied at *Constantinople*, and had to his Scholars many skilfull Mathematicians. Moreover it cannot be denied, that about the Year 680, there was kept a General Council at *Constantinople*, wherein there were many eminent Bishops of *Greece*, and among the rest the * Bishop of *Athens*. There was another Council kept at † *Nice*, and a hundred Years after, viz. about the 780, at which there were more Bishops of *Greece*, than at the former. There was a third Council held at *Constantinople*, which did exceed in Number either of the former two, about the Year † 870; and how it is credible so many Councils consisting of many Bishops should be

* Conc. Const. 6. Act. 17. † Bellar. lib. 1. de Conc. cap. 5. ‡ Bellarm. locò citat.

be kept in *Greece*, and yet *Greece* utterly without Learning.

Now as these Abusers of truth deny that there was any Learning at that time in *Greece*, so they will not allow that there was any open Profession of Learning in those Days in *Rome*, because they will gainstay the truth of Pope *Joan's* going thither, and that as she professed publicly all manner of Learning, whereby the greatest Doctors there became her Scholars, so she preached, and wonderfully ingaged the Ears and Hearts of her Auditors.

* History makes appear, that *Ina* (one of our Saxon Kings) did build a School in *Rome*, a little before the Days of Pope *Joan* in the Year 727, to this end, that the Kings of *England*, and their Children, the Bishops, Priests, and the rest of the Clergy might repair thither to be instructed in the Catholick Faith, and afterwards return Home; which School flourished in the Reign of King † *Offa*, which was in the Year 795, and continued at least till *Alfred's* time. For we read, that *Marinus*, who was Pope in the Year 883, freed it from all Payments at the Request of *Alfred*. Now is it likely that such a School was built, and maintained for such a purpose, where no Learning was publicly professed? Moreover, we read of many other Schools kept in the same City, in the time of *Steven* the VIth, in the Year 885. For all the Schools in *Rome* with alacrity concurred, and brought *Steven* the VIth to the Palace of *Lateran*, and *Steven* was troubled he had not wherewith to gratify them; thus saith *Anastafius* in the Life of

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* Mat. Westmon. Flores Hist. ad an. 727. † Ibid. ad an. 794.

this Pope; and is it reason to believe these Schools were without Masters, Readers, and Professors?

But now it is time that which Cardinal *Baronius* thinks will knock on the Head and bury this Story in perpetual Oblivion; and that is thus; saith he, *if Leo the IVth lived to the Year 855, then Marianus Scotus, the first Promoter of this Story, told a manifest untruth, in reporting that this Joan was chosen Pope in the Year 853; for by his Confession she succeeded Leo the IVth, but Leo the IVth lived to the Year 855; Ergo Marianus Scotus lyes, &c. Anno octingentesimo quinquagesimo tertio, Leo Papa, obiit Kalend. Augusti; huic successit Johanna Mulier annis duobus, mensibus quinque, diebus quatuor. ' In the Year 853, ' Leo the Pope died on the Kalends of August, ' and Joan, the Woman succeeded after him for ' the space of two Years five Months and four ' Days.*

You may see the falacy of this Cardinal; for these are not *Marianus's* Words, for he sets not down the Year precisely, but in Numeral Figures in the Margin. * And it is plain by conference of Years, that he meant to note out the 855 for her Entrance, and not the 853. For *Benedict* the IIIrd who succeeded her, entred not by his Account till the Year 857; now if she had entred in 853, she had been Pope four Years, or thereabouts; whereas he plainly notes, that she was Pope but two Years, five Months, and four Days. Secondly, it is plain by *Marianus Scotus*, that *Sergius* the IIrd began his Popedom in the Year 844, and sat three Years; and it is as plain, that *Leo* the IVth, next Successor to *Sergius*, began

* Consult *Marianus's* Chronicle, and you will be thoroughly satisfied;

gan his in the Year 847, and sat eight Years ; now add these three odd Sums to 840, and the Product will be 855, so that whoever succeeded *Leo* the IVth, must begin in the Year 855, and that was *Joan* the Woman Pope in *Marianus's* Opinion.

* *Florimondus* would make us believe, that the Moon is made of a Green Cheese ; for, (says he) we read nothing in History of her reforming the Church, of her determining of Causes and Questions usually proposed by Bishops to them that are Popes ; of any Intercourse or Affairs that she had with King or Emperor ; wherefore certainly, had there been any such *Joan* a Pope, her Actions, as well as her bare Name would have been registred by Historians.

He might as well question, whether there ever was an *Anastasius* the IIIrd, who sat two Years and upwards, and yet no Historian tells what he did in that Affair ; only † *Platina* writes, he acted nothing worth Commemoration. We read of no great matter done by *Leo* the VIIth, who sat three Years, six Months, and was as very a Drone as the other, for any thing we read ; he neither reformed the Church, nor resolved any Bishop his Doubts, nor intermeddled with the Affairs of Princes ; and whereas the Author afore-said may pretend, that in that Age wherein Pope *Joan* lived, there was great Controversies between the *East* and *Western* Church, that in it many Princes and Emperors reigned, who were as much signalized for their Virtue, as royal Dignity ; that in it many Men of great Learning lived, and therefore if there had been any such

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Monster

* *Flor.* in c. 25. nu. 3. † *Platina* in vita *Anastasi* 3. nil memoria dignum gestum est.

68 *The LIFE and DEATH*

Monster then, they could not have past her by in silence. No more they did, as I have already proved, neither was there more Variety of matter fell out in that Age, than ordinary; though some would have us believe, that between the *Eastern* and *Western* Churches, there was a great Controversy, and Contention about Images, and that many Councils were held, &c. This is a positive untruth; for all Stories testify, that the Difference between those two Churches about Images, began in the former Ages; and that though they continued some few Years after the Year 800, yet there was no talk of that matter for divers Years before Pope *Joan's* Days. And as for the learned Men of that age, *Baronius* gives an account of them; *Qui sciret tantum Grammaticam isto seculo rudi, Doctissimus habebatur.** These went for learned Men in that age, who were but bare Grammarians; and therefore were there never so many, Pope *Joan's* Acts might pass unwritten.

If any conjecture that this Pope *Joan* did never Inaugure and Crown Dukes, Princes, Kings, or Emperor's I may answer, did every Pope Inaugure and Crown them, and though our Antagonists say, that in that age the Emperors themselves had such a reverend Esteem of the Roman Popes, that they would not undertake the Rule and Government of their People, except they gave them their Consent and Crowned them; and for Proof of this they alledge, that *Adrian* the first baptized two Sons of *Charles* the Great, and after that anointed them Kings,

This

? *Baron.* Annal. Tom. 9. ad an. 802, Num. 12,

This is easily answered, for this happened in the Year 781, as * *Baronius* observes, and not in that age wherein Pope *Joan* lived. It is not to be imagin'd that every Pope in that age inaugurated some Dukes, Princes, Kings or Emperors; for we do not find that *Eugenius* the IId in the Year 824; *Valentinus* in 827; *Gregory* the IVth who succeeded him; *Sergius* the IId in 844, or *Leo* the IVth, who sat in the Year 847, Inaugured or Crowned any of them, but this Pope last mentioned, who anointed *Alfred* the youngest Son of *Athelwulfus*, King of *England*, which assisted him not, nor further'd him to the attaining of the Kingdom; for till the Death of his three Elder Brethren, notwithstanding the Pope's anointing, he lived like a Subject, not like a King; wherefore though Pope *Joan* Inaugured or Crowned no such Persons, it must not thereupon be concluded, there was no Pope *Joan*. But this we read, that *contulit sacros ordines, promovit Episcopos, ministravit Sacramenta, cæteraque Romanorum Pontificum exercuit munera*; she gave Orders, she made Bishops, she administred the Sacraments, and performed all other Offices belonging to the Papacy; this Truth is testified not only by *John Bale*, but by † *Cornelius Agrippa*, a Man highly commended by ‡ *Leo* the Xth, and in a Book of his Solemnly priviledged by *Charles* the Vth,

And let me not forget to answer one grand Objection more, which the Papists alledge against the truth of this Story; *Ratio ineluctabilis*, saith *Genebrard*

* *Baron. Annal. Tom. 9. ad an. Num. 2.* † *De vanitate Scient. cap. 62. de sectis Monasticis.* ‡ *Lib. 1. Epistol. Epist. 38.*

Genebrard in his Chronology, and this is it.
 * About a hundred and seventy Years after this invented fabulous Election of Pope *Joan*, in the Year of our Lord 1020, the Church, and the Patriarch of *Constantinople*, being in some Contention with *Rome*, *Leo* the IXth wrote a Letter to *Michael* the Patriarch of *Constantinople*, reprehending certain Abuses of that Church, and among others, that they were said to have promoted Eunuchs to Priesthood, and thereby also a greater Inconvenience fallen out, that a Woman had craftily crept in to be a Patriarch. Now no doubt (say they) *Leo* would never have durst to write thus, if the Patriarch might have returned the matter back upon him again; and said, this was but a slanderous report, falsely raised against the Church of *Constantinople*, but that a Woman indeed had been promoted in the Roman Church.

This Argument is very weak in my Judgment, for any to presume in this, that *Leo* would never object that against *Constantinople*, whereof *Rome* it self might be convinced; to prove this no unanswerable Argument, it is usual for the Papists to object that against others, whereof they themselves stand most guilty; and with the Proverb, cry *Whore first*. How do they exclaim against the Clergy of *England* for want of Continency? and yet is it not well known, how their Priests and Monks, like † fed Horses, have neighed after their Neighbours Wives, and their Nuns have opened their Feet (to use the † Prophets Phrase when he speaketh of such like Light-skirts) to every one that passed by, and have multiplied

* *Leo* 9 Epist. ad *Michael*. Episc. *Constantinop.* cap. 23.
 † *Jerem.* 5. 8. † *Ezech.* 16. 25.

multiplied their Whoredoms: *Taceo de fornicationibus, & adulteriis a quibus qui alieni sunt, pro-
bro cæteris ac ludibrio esse solent Spadonesque, aut
Sodomitæ appellantur,* saith * *Nich. Clemangis,*
speaking of the Romish Priests. I say nothing
of your Priests Fornications and Adulteries,
from which Crimes, if any Man be free, he is
made a laughing Stock to the rest, and either
called an *Eunuch* or a *Sodomite*.

*Laici usque adeo persuasum habent nullos cælibes
esse, ut in plerisque parochiis non aliter velint Presby-
terum tolerare, nisi Concubinam habeat; quo vel sic
suis sit consultum uxoribus, quæ ne sic quidem usque-
quaque sunt extra periculum,* saith the same Man.
The Lay-people are so convinced of the Inconti-
nence of all Priests, that, willingly they would
not admit of a Parish Priest, unless he have a
Whore of his own, that so they might preserve
the Chastity of their own Wives, and yet fall
short of their Expectations, by reason of the
Leachery of the Priests.

*Fornicantur complures Monialium cum suis Præ-
latis, ac Monachis, & conversis, & in Monasteriis
plures parturiunt filios, & filias quos ab iisdem Præ-
latis Monachis & Conversis fornicarie, seu ex incestu-
oso coitu conceperunt,* saith *Theodoricus de Niem,*
Secretary to Pope Urban the VIth, thus proceed-
ing, *& quod miserandum est nonnullæ ex hujusmodi
Monialibus aliquos fætus earum mortificant, infantes
in lucem editos trucidant, &c.* Nuns committed
Fornication with Bishops, Monks, and Converts,
and are delivered of Sons and Daughters within
their Monasteries, which were got by those Per-
sons Fornicator-like, if not incestuously; and
which

* De Præsulibus Simoniacis in Bibliotheca Patrum, Paris
1576. p. 655.

which is most to be lamented, very many of these Nuns by internal receptions destroy the Fruit of their Womb, and many kill them after they are Born.

* *Quid obsecro aliud sunt hoc tempore puellarum Monasteria, nisi quedam Veneris execranda prostibula & lascivorum, & impudicorum juvenum ad libidines explendas receptacula? ut idem sit hodie puellam velare, quod & publice ad scortandum exponere?* What are Nunneries I pray now, but cursed Stews, and Meeting-places for wanton and shameless Youth to satisfy their Lusts in? So that now it is all one to make a *Wench* a *Nun*, and to make her a *Whore*.

† *Johannes Cremenfis*, a Romish Cardinal, held a Council at *London* in the Year 1125, wherein he inveighed bitterly against such Priests as kept Concubines, saying, *sammum scelus esse a latere meretricis ad corpus Christi conficiendum surgere*; it was a damnable Sin for a Priest to arise from the side of a Whore, and go and Administer the Body of Christ; yet he himself loved a Whore with all his Heart; for we read in our *English* Stories, *ipse cum ædem die Corpus Christi confecisset & cum meretrice post vesperam interceptus est*; he himself was taken with a Whore the same Night after he had said Mass, *ipso facto*.

Again, they condemn us of Ignorance, saying, we dare not dispute with them in matter of Religion, and if any of us are so confident, we are easily baffled, being not able to produce so many Arguments in our own Defence as our † Adversaries do for us, applauding themselves, and

* *Clemangis de corrupto Eccles. statu.* † *He. Huntingdon, Hist. Lib. 7. ad ann. 1125. Rôger Hoveden Annal. pars prior in Hen. 1. 1126.* † *Bristow Motive. 3.*

and debasing us, and yet it is easy to prove that their Priests and Monks are generally like the threescore thousand * Ninivites, who had not so much Wit as to discern between their left Hand and their right.

Videas admitti in Sacerdotium ceterosque sacros ordines homines idiotas & illiteratos, &c. faith Clemangis, speaking of the Ignorance of the Romish Clergy, thou mayst see ignorant and illiterate Persons advanced to the Priest-hood and other Holy Orders, which can hardly read; and farther complains, how many are there now a-days preferred to Bishopricks, who so much as cursorily have neither read, or heard, or learned the holy Scriptures; and faith † Duarenus, *Hoc seculo Episcopatus & Sacerdotia indoctissimis hominibus, & a religione alienis deferri solent*—*hodie Episcopi nostri (paucis exceptis) sacrarum literarum scientia ceteris ex populo longe inferiores sunt.* In this age Bishopricks and Parsonages are bestowed on most unlearned and irreligious Men, &c. and faith, † Aeneas Sylvius, *pudeat Italiae sacerdotes, quos ne semel quidem legisse constat novam Legem.* It is a shame to Italy that her Priests never read over the New Testament; and as another says, *Ecclesiarum regimina minus dignis (Romae videlicet) committuntur qui ad Malos magis quam homines pascendos & regendos essent idonei*, that the Government of the Churches, even at Rome, is committed to unworthy Persons, who are fitter to look to the keeping of Mules than Men.

* Clemangis speaking of the Roman Worthies, faith, *Siquis desidiosus est, siquis a labore abhorrens*
L *siquis*

* Jonas 4. 11. † De Sac. eccles. Ministr. Benef. lib. 1. cap. 11. † Comment. de dictis & fact. Alfonsi. Regis lib. 2. Apopthegm. 17. * De corrupto Eccles. statu.

siquis in otio luxuriari volens ad sacerdotium convolat: quo adepto, se statim ceteris sacerdotibus adjungit, qui magis secundum Epicurum, quam secundum Christum viventes & cauponulas seduli frequentantes, potando commessando, pransitando convivando cum tessaris & pilo ludendo tempora tota consumunt, &c. If there be any lazy Fellow, one that will not work, but indulge his Senses, he is restless till he is be-priested, and when he is made one, and hath gotten a Benefice, he consorts with his fellow Priests as sensual as himself, and then he and they live more like Epicures than Christians; Drinking, Eating, Reveling, Playing, Damning, and being tippled, Swear and Fight, whilst others as they come reaking hot from filthy carnal satisfactions, address themselves to the Holy Altar.

*Asciscuntur nunc (saith * Platina) non modo servi & vulgo concepti ac nati verum etiam flagitioso quoque geniti.* Now a days not only Servants and vulgar Persons are admitted to be of the Clergy, but every vile Fellow, and the Brats of such like Persons.

And saith † *Lindan, ex Aulicis perditissimus & quod omni etate fuit post Christi annorum memoriam inauditam ex militibus deploratissimis iisque sanguinariis Dei loco ad Ecclesiae collocantur; imo repente intruduntur gubernacula quid quod puerilis & adolescentulis creduntur haec tractanda.* The worst of Courtiers forlorn and bloody Soldiers (a thing never heard of before among Christians) are all on a suddain thrust in upon the Church to manage it in God's stead, yea, Boys and Youngsters are made Bishops and Prelates in the Church.

As

* In vita Sozimi. † Panopliae lib. 4. cap. 77. p. 405.

As the Papists tax us with Ignorance, so they do with Falsehood, of which they themselves are most guilty. For Instance, * *Agatho* a Pope avoucheth, that the Roman Church never swerved from the Tradition of the Apostles, that she never gave Ear to Novelties, that the Pope's Predecessors had ever boldly strengthened their Brethren according to Christ's Commandment to *Peter*; for Proof hereof, he appeals to all the World. In like manner † Pope *Nicholas* boasts, that none of the Popes was ever suspected to have held an Error; and *Victor* was supposed to have held, that Christ was pure Man and not God, which is attested by † *Eusebius*: *Zepherinus* was suspected of *Montanism*, so saith * *Tertullian*: *Marcellinus* sacrificed to Idols according to † *Damasus*, his Report, and acknowledged by *Bellarmin*, though denied in part by *Baronius*: *Liberius* subscribed to *Arian's* Heresy, so says *Athanasius*, *Jerome* and *Sozomen*; and to be short, that *Honorius* the Ist was a Monothelite, and for that condemned by Name in the sixth and seventh general Councils. From hence I gather, that Pope *Agatho* was not infallible in his Judgment, neither am I apt to believe that the Sons of that Church are less fallible. It is not their bare saying that this is so and that not so, but the Proof they produce must be considered according to validity.

And now the Papists, not knowing hardly what to say for themselves, suggest this, † that though Men at that time had been so far bewitch-

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* In Epistola 1. ad Imperatorem. † In Epistola 1. ad Michaellem. † Hist. Eccl. lib. 5. cap. 28. * Contra Praxeam. † In Pontificali in vita Marcelli. † Onuph. Annotat. in Plat. in vita *Johan. S. Harding* in his Answer to Bp. *Jewel's* Apology.

ed or mope-ey'd, as not to distinguish a Man from a Woman, yet God himself, who appointed and ordained the Seat of *Peter* to be the rule and direction of the whole Church, should never have departed so far from his merciful Providence, as to suffer the same to be polluted by a Woman incapacitated for holy Orders, and a *Puttana Errante* to boot.

I would willingly understand why might not the Almighty suffer that Church to be polluted by a Woman, as by so many Monsters and Beasts of Men, as several Pontifical Writers have discovered, who ingenuously, rather than they would prejudice, have confessed the wild Actions of their Brethren to their everlasting Shame and Infamy. Why might she not sit there as well as * *Sabini-an*, whom though a Pope, I must call by reason of his exorbitant wicked Life; I cannot call that Miscreant by a name bad enough, and as he lived firfully, he died fearfully. Why might she not sit there as well as *Stephen* the VIth, who digged up the Carcass of Pope *Formosus* his Predecessor, and, as if living, had it arraign'd before a Council of Bishops, and condemned, &c. as I have before recited. Why might she not sit there as well as † *Boniface* the VIIth, who robbed St *Peter's* Church, and fled for a time to *Constantinople*, who afterwards by Simony, and the Murther of two Popes, got into the Papacy, who in Mischief, excelled all the Ruffins and Banditties of his time for Cruelty, and for the ruin of his Country *Sylla* and *Cataline* come short of him: Thus much † *Baronius* confesseth, and at length as he lived like a Brute, so he died like a Beast; these

* Fascical. Temp. ad an. 614. † Plat. in vita *Bonif.*
 † Annal. Tom. 10. ad annum 985. num. 1.

these are his Words, Bonifacius VII, *annumerandus inter Famosos latrones & potentissimos grassatores atque patriæ proditores Syllas & Catalinas horumque similes quos omnes superavit sacrilegus iste turpissima nece duorum Pontificum.* And why might he not sit there as well as Sylvester the IIId, that famous Conjuror, who gave himself both Body and Soul to the Devil, that he might get the Popedom, and whilst living was hurried away whither no Mortal ever yet could tell. *Platina*, in the Lives of the Popes, writes thus of him, that *ambitione & diabolica dominandi cupiditate impulsus, largitione primo quidem Archiepi scopatum Rhemensis inde Ravennatem adeptus Pontificatum, postremo majore conatu adjuvante Diabolo consequutus est hac tamen lege ut post mortem totus illius esset cujus fraudibus tantem dignitate adeptus erat: Sylvester the IIId,* deing damnable Ambitious, got first by Bribery the Arch-bishop of *Rhemes*, than that of *Ravenna*, and after that by the Devil's help, the Bishoprick of *Rome*, yet upon this Condition, that when he died he should be wholly his, by whose means he had attained such Dignity: *Sigibert* confesseth in a manner the same thing, for he saith, *non per ostium intrare crediture*, he got the Popedom by indirect Course, for a quibusdam *Negromantiæ* arguitar, he was suspected of *Negromancy*; the like is affirmed by Cardinal * *Benno*, by † *Martinus Polonus*, by † *Stella a Venetian*, by * *Philippus Bergomensis*, by † *Ranulfus Cestrensis*, by *Matthæus Westmonasteriensis*, by *Fasciculus Temporum*, by *Charanza*, and by *Æneas Sylvius*.

William

* De vita & gestis Hildebrandi. † In Chron. ad an. 1007. † De vitis Pontif. in Sylvest. 2. * Supplement. Chron. ad annum 997. † In Polychron. lib. 6. cap. 14. &c.

78. The LIFE and DEATH

William of Malmſbury, having related the ſame Story in effect with the above-named Writers, ſuppoſeth that ſome might reply, this is but a made Tale, *Sed hæc vulgata ficta crederet, aliquis eo quod ſolet Populus literatorum famam ledere dicens illum, loqui cum Dæmone quem in aliquo viderint excellentem opere*; becauſe the common People are wont to ſay, that Scholars, who are ſingular or excellent in any thing, are cunning Men, or deal with the Devil; yet he concludes, that he believes it for Truth, for *mibi vero fidem facit de iſtius ſacrilegio inaudita mortis excogitatio*, * ſaith he, I am verily perſwaded Sylveſter was ſuch a Villain, becauſe of the ſtrangenefs of his Death, *Nam cur ſe moriens excarnificaret ipſe ſui corporis horrendus Lanista niſi novi ſcleris conſcius eſſet?* For why ſhould the butcherly Fellow have torn his own Fleſh as he did, but that he was guilty of ſome ſtrange Sin.

To proceed, why might not Pope Joan fit in the Papal Chair as well as *Benedict* the IXth that ugly Monſter, as *Platina* calls him, *Teterrimum Monſtrum*, who got the Popedom when he was twelve Years old, † who when he was caſt out for his unworthineſs by ſtrong Hand, got it again within few Days after, and for fear he could not keep it long, ſold it to another for Money; who after his Death appeared partly like an Aſs, partly like a Bear, confeſſing that he carried ſuch a Shape, becauſe he lived ſo much like a Beaſt in his life.

Why might ſhe not fit in St *Peter's* Chair as well as ‡ *Boniface* the VIIIth, who when accord-
ing

* Lib. 2. de geſtis Rerum Aug. cap. 10. fol. 36. † Sigonius de Regno Italiæ, lib. 8. ad annũ 1048. ‡ Pet. Criterius de honeſta diſcip. lib. 8. cap. 13.

ing to Custom on *Asb-Wednesday*, when he should have laid Ashes upon an Arch-bishop's Head, and religiously told him, that he was but Ashes, and should return to Ashes, he cast them in the Arch-bishop's Face and Fyes, maliciously telling him, that he was a *Gibelline*, and that he should die with the *Gibellines*; of whom *Cælestines* his Predecessor, a Man famous as they say for Miracles, * professed that as he entred like a Fox, he should reign like a Lyon, and die like a Dog, which fell out accordingly.

Why might she not sit there as well as *Gregory* the VIIth, commonly known by the name of *Hildebrand*, who set the † Church and Commonwealth on Fire; who hired a Villain to tumble down great Stones from the Battlements of a Church upon the Emperor's Head, to squeeze him to Pieces, whilst he was at Prayers, as Cardinal *Benno* reports; who cast the Sacrament into the Fire; who usually carried about him a Conjuring-book; who soundly basted his Predecessor *Alexander*; who wrested the Scriptures to cover his Lewdness; ‡ who at his death confessed, that the Devil set him on work to provoke God to Wrath against the World.

Why might she not sit there as well as *John* the XXIIIrd, (*Onuph. Appendix* 24) who was fitter for a Camp than for the Church; for Profaneness, than for Piety; as knowing no Faith, no Religion at all; who openly professed that there was no life after this, (*post mortem nulla voluptas*) but that it was with Men as with Beasts; who,

* Ascendisti ut vulpus, regnabis ut Leo. morieris ut Canis, & ita sane contigit, *Tbo. Walsingham* in *Edu* 1. † Abbas *Uspergenensis* in *Chron.* ad an. 1080 ‡ *Florentinus Vigornensis* in *Chron.* page 641. *Mat. Paris* in *Guil. Conquest.* An. 1086.

who, in a word, lived so scandalously, that he was commonly called the Devil Incarnate.

Why might she not sit there as well as *John* the XIIth, * who made Deacons in a Stable; who made a Boy of ten Years old a Bishop; who made the *Lateran* a common Bawdy-house; who drank to the Devil; who, when he was at Prayers, invoked *Jupiter* and *Venus*, and other Idolatrous Gods of the Heathens; who at length was slain even by the Devil himself, whilst he was committing Adultery, as I said before. If it cannot be denied that God hath suffered these and as many as wicked as any of these (except the last recited) to seat themselves in *St Peter's* Chair, we need not wonder with † *Antonius*, at the Story of Pope *Joan*, and say, Oh the depth of the Wisdom of God, how incredible are his Judgments, &c.

And now let me ask any Romanist this Question; how should this Tale of Pope *Joan* arise if there had not been such a Pope: Was there ever such a Smoak and no Fire; such a Report and no Probability: To this some Romanists do say, that great Lies do always arise out of some Truth: *Omnia insignia mendacia ab aliqua veritate originem habent*; saith *Onuphrius* in his Notes on *Platina* in the Life of Pope *Joan*, and so did this, confessing that *John* the XIIth was a Whore-master, and among other of his *Bona Roba's*, or Wenches that he kept, there was one called *Joan*, who was all in all with him, and ruled the roast. Now the People perceiving what Interest she had in, and Power over him, contemning him, gave her the Appellation of Pope.

Whereupon

* Luitprand. Hist. de Europ. gestarum, lib 6. cap. 7, 8, & 10. † Part 2. Tit. 16. cap. 1. Sect. 7.

Whereupon the Churches Enemies took occasion to slander the Church, as though the Church had (indeed) a Woman Pope. And this * *Onupbrius* proves out of *Luitprandus Ticinensis*, a Writer of that Age, who affirms, that *John* the XIIth had three famous Strapping Whores, of whom the handsomest, and consequently the best beloved, was called *Joan*. In answer hereunto, I read in † *Luitprandus*, in the Place cited by *Onupbrius*, that *John* the XIIth kept one eminent Whore whom he called *Raynera*, whom he made Governor of many Cities, and on whom he bestowed many Golden Crosses, and Chalice's belonging to *St Peter*; and relates further, that he kept another called *Stephana*, and that he Debauched and vitiated married Wives, Widows, and Maidens, who came to visit the Apostolical Churches, and withal writes, that he kept a third called *Anna*, who was a Widow, and not so, but kept her Neice to boot; making the Palace *Lateran* no better than a Bawdy-house, but he nowhere mentions any *Joan*, on whom that continent and worthy Head of the Romish Church *John* the XIIth doted. *Onupbrius*, I suppose, wanting Spectacles mistook *Joanna* for *Anna*.

But say some, *John* the IXth was made Bishop of *Bonony*, then of *Ravena*, and at last Pope of *Rome*, by the means of one *Theodora* a very famous Whore, who in those Days at *Rome*, overruled all Affairs Ecclesiastical or Political. Now it being generally observed how prevalent this *Theodora* was with this *John*, and how much a Slave he was to all her Humours and Commands, he was concluded to have deserved rather the Name of a Woman than a Man, and therefore

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called

* Loco supra citato.

† Lib. 2. cap. 6 & 7.

called him *Joan*, not *John*; and upon this account arose the Report of Pope *Joan*; and to back this Assertion, * *Aventinus* a German is produced; but *Genebrard*, who is a profest rigid Papist, differs in Opinion; for saith he, *Aventinus lib. 4. Annal. fabullam esse asserit a Theodora nobili scorto autam; ego vero a recentioribus adulatoribus in Romanæ sedis odium*; that is, *Aventinus* holdeth that this Tale arose by reason of a noble Whore called *Theodora*; but I think some later sycophantising Parasys of the Emperor, invented this Story to discredit the Papal seat: I know not but that *Genebrard* may be as Authentick as *Aventinus*, since he spent † ten whole Years upon his Chronicle.

Besides, suppose we allow that *John* who was first Bishop of *Bonony*, then of *Ravenna*, and lastly of *Rome*, came to those Bishopricks by the means of *Theodora* a famous Whore; in respect whereof, Cardinal *Baronius* questions whether he was a * Pope or not, and terms him sometimes † *Pseudopontifex*, and *Anti-papa*, a false Pope, and Anti-pope, * sometimes intruder & detentor *injustus Apostolicæ sedis*; an Intruder and an Usurper of the Apostolical Chair; yet I deny that this was *John* the IXth, but *John* the Xth: *John* the IX took no indirect Courses to gain the Papacy; but lawfully and honestly, and died naturally, as the said † Cardinal reports: but so did not this; † This confirmed a Child under five Years of age in the Arch-bishoprick of *Rhemes*, at which Fact *Baronius* stands amazed, and could not forbear saying, that this * *turpior nullus cujus sicut ingressus*

* *Annal. l. 4. † Præfatio Chronog. ad Pontacum. † An. n. ad an. 912. num. 12. * Ad annum 928. num. 2. † Annal. Tom. 10. ad annum 901. num. 1. † Fredricus Hist. Rœm. lib. 4. cap. 19. * *Annal. num. 11.**

ingressus in Cathedram Petri infamissimus, ita & exitus nefandissimus: there was never a filthier Fellow than this. This entred with Infamy and died fearfully; this was stifled with a Pillow by the procurement of one as famous for Whoredom as *Theodora* who preserved him.

Now suppose he was *John* the IXth, if his loose Carriage with *Theodora* gave occasion of the Report of a Woman Pope, why was it not recorded, as happening in his time, but above forty Years before his time; *John* the IXth was constituted Pope in the Year 901, yet this Story is recorded as happening about the Year 854, to this the Romanists reply, that this came to pass by the subtlety of the Reporters, for say * they, about the Year 800, the Empress, who in a manner ruled all the World, was called *Theodora*. Now these trifling Tale-tellers (to use their own Words) hearing of a Pope *Joan* in *Theodora's* time, chopt it into the time of *Theodora* the Empress, who lived about thirty Years before *Theodora* the Harlot.

I do think this rather argues simplicity than subtlety in the Reporters; for *Cui bono*, whether it happened in the one or the other *Theodora's* time? But it carries no Colour of Truth with it; for *Theodora* the Empress never carried any Sway in *Rome* at all. At *Constantinople* for a while, in the time of her Sons minority, she had great Power; † but in Pope *Joan's* time she was turned out of Office or devested of that Power she had assumed in *Constantinople*, nay, she was deposed of her Regency, and thrust into a Monastery where she was detained till the expiration of her Life.

Now,

* Florimond. cap. 30. num. 8. † Baron. annal Tom. 10. ad an. 855.

Now, since this Fallacy will stand them in no stead, they imagine this Tale, as they call it, arose from *John* the VIIIth, for *John* the VIIIth, say they, behaved himself not like a Man to *Photius* Patriarch of *Constantinople*, but sheepishly and like a Woman; for he received *Photius* into Communion, who was excommunicated by his Predecessors. *John* the VIIIth suffered himself to be overcome by half a Man, whereupon, in reproach he was called, not *Papa sed Papissa*, and this they father on *Baronius*, of which he writes in his Annals; but how justly let any judge, since he is one of those who affirm that the Rumour of the Church of *Constantinople* oversight, in suffering a Woman to creep in to be Patriarch, occasioned this Tale against *Rome*, according to his own Words, *Quæ ita erant fama vulgata de Ecclesia Constantinop. conversa in Romana Ecclesia a schismaticis eam odio prosequantibus, & calumniis proscindantibus quis non intelligat*, saith *Baronius* in his Annals, who is so ignorant, that understands not that what was reported of *Constantinople*, the same was turned by Schismatick as spoken against *Rome*.

With what Honesty can he affirm both, since * he acknowledgeth if there had been but some flying Tale of any such Accident at *Rome* in former Days, Pope *Leo* should first have cleared it before he had charged the Church of *Constantinople* with the like. And was there not such a flying Report of a Woman Pope before *Leo* the IXth time, in *Baronius* time? How then did *John* the VIIIth occasion such a Report who lived a Hundred and forty Years before *Leo*.

Many more Objections I could here insert, and answer, but that I think I have produced enough already

* Annal. Tom. 10. ad annum 853. num. 66.

already to convince any Man unbiaſſed, of the Reality and the Truth of this Story, that there was a Pope *Joan*. But ſuppoſe this Story to be true, what Prejudice is this to the Church of *Rome*? Yes, very much, for if ſhe was Pope, then it will neceſſarily follow, that the Roman Church once hopt Headleſs; for the Church according to * *Bellarmin*, is defined to be a Company of Chriſtian-men profeſſing one Faith, under one Head, to wit, the Pope; but ſhe, however ſhe carried the name of Pope, was no Pope; † for a Woman is not capable of Holy Orders: wherefore a Woman cannot play the Pope; therefore all the time of Pope *Joan*, the Church hopt Headleſs.

The Papiſts do acknowledge this for a great Inconvenience, that the Church ſhould lack a true Head for the time, but that's not ſo great a Matter cry they; for ſo ſhe doth when any Pope dieth, till another be choſen. If this be granted, what a pitiful Caſe is the Church in then? Since Chriſt's time above 250 Popes, and by Conſequence, then the Church hath been Headleſs 250 times, yea, and ſometimes between the death of one Pope, and the chooſing of another, there have paſſed many Days, many Months, and ſome Years, as you may read in Hiſtory, and particularly *Bodin*, that after *Felix*, ſometimes Duke of *Savoy*, *St Peter's* Chair ſtood empty ten Years. Now, if the Church be Headleſs, where lies her underſtanding; what ſhall guide her when ſhe is bereaved of her Head?

But let us weigh another Objection, did not (ſay they) *St Auſtin* hold this Opinion upon Suppoſition

* *Bellar.* lib. 3. de Eccleſia. cap. 2. † *Rhem.* annot. in 1 *Cor.* 14. v. 24.

position of a like Case, that the Church of Christ should not be prejudiced? Did not * he, having recited the Popes Name from the time of Christ to his Days, make this demand? What if any *Judas* or *Traytor* had entered among these, or been chosen by the Error of Men? and answereth presently, *Non præjudicaret Ecclesie, & innocentibus Christianis.* According to the Body of the Popish Doctrine this must be denied; for the Papists hold that the Pope is Head of the Church, and that it is necessary to Salvation to acknowledge him the Head; but so did not St. *Austin.* The Papists hold that in a true Church, one Bishop must lawfully succeed another, or all is dasht out; but so did not St. *Austin*, for he puts the Case, that some Traytor *subrepsisset*, that is, had come in not orderly into the Bishop of *Romes* Seat; and yet resolves that that was not prejudicial to God's Church. Let the Papist conform himself in these two Points of the Pope's Head-ship and Succession to St. *Austin's* Judgment, and, then he may the better say in this Case of Pope *Joan*, that which St. *Austin* said in the Case proposed; that she had not prejudiced the Church of Christ.

Now if it be true that there was a Pope *Joan*, the Church of *Rome* must be discarded as no true Church; for thus I argue, that is no true Church which cannot give in plain authentical Writing, the lawful, orderly, entire, (without any Breach) and sound sincere Succession of Bishops; but your Church if *Joan* was Pope, cannot give in plain authentical Writing the lawfull, orderly, entire, &c. For by reason of her, *Benedict* the III^d, could not orderly succeed *Leo* the IVth; for

* *Austin.* Epist. 165. ad liceras cujusdam Donatist.

for she was a Bar to his Succession; by her a Breach was made in the Rank of Popes, and as she was a notorious Whore, so she was no Fool; as she shamefully baffled the Doctors with her learning, so she Out-witted them with her Policy, and sat in that Seat which properly belonged to Men, to the Confusion of the Romish Church and perpetual Infamy of her Clergy.

Lastly, if it be granted there was such a Pope, then Popish Priests may well doubt of the lawfulness of their Mission, and Lay-Papists of the sufficiency of their Absolutions which the Priests give them on auricular Confession, and of the Truth of the real Presence and Transubstantiation. * For unless the Popish Priests be admitted by a lawful Bishop, their Priesthood is insignificant and of no Effect: † unless Lay-Papists be absolved by a lawfull Priest, their Absolution is nothing worth; and ‡ unless the words of Consecration be uttered by a lawfull Priest, intent upon his Business, there follows no substantial change in the Creatures of Bread and Wine. Now how can the Priests say they were inducted by lawfull Bishops, or the Lay-man absolved by lawful Priests, or Masses said by them, seeing we read (as I said before) that Pope *Joan* gave Orders, Pope *Joan* made Deacons, Priests, Bishops, and Abbots. For it may be well enough supposed that the Priests of this present Age are descended from those who received Orders from her. Her Successors dealt not with her Shavelings, as Pope *John* the XII did with *Leo* the VIIth his Shavelings. *John* the XIIth degraded

* Tolet. summa Casuum Conscientiæ lib. 1. cap. 1. † Concil Trident Sess. 14. Can. 10. ‡ Bellar. l. 4. de Eucha. cap. 16.

graded them all, and compelled every one of them to subscribe a Paper, wherein was writ *Episcopus meus* (meaning *Leo the VI. Ith*) *nihil sibi habuit, nihil mihi dedit*, he had nought for himself, and gave nought to me: but so did not *Benedict* the IIIId with Pope *Joan*. To what hath been said I know not what any Romanist in any probability can reply, unless he say as Lawyers in the Case of *Barbarious Philippus*, *Communis error facit jus*; yet that will not serve the turn, for though it may be so in matters of the Commonwealth, in matters of the Church it cannot be so; for an Error in the beginning touching the Church proves often an Heresy in conclusion. In matters of the Church prescriptions adds no Credit to Actions of evil beginning.

F I N I S.

